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A

SHORT REVIEW

OF THE

BRITISH GOVERNMENT

IN

27777

INDIA;

1903

AND OF

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY BEFORE THE COMPANY ACQUIRED THE GRANT OF THE DEWANNY.

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THE affairs of the Eaſt India Company, and the conduct of their ſervants in India, have, for many years, engaged the attention of the public, and been the diſcuſſion of every private aſſembly; but the true ſtate of that country, with regard to its laws, cuſtoms, and manners; to the characters of its Mahommedan conquerors, and the conduct of the Britiſh government, has neither been fairly explained, nor rightly underſtood: Conſequently, the only means by which a juſt judgment could be formed on this ſubject, have been wanting. The deſire of ſupplying this defect, induced the Author to make this humble attempt, which he now ſubmits to the candour of the Public.

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A SHORT

A

SHORT REVIEW,

&c. &c. &c.

WHEN prejudices have taken deep root in the minds of men, it is an arduous, and often an unſucceſsful, attempt to endeavour to eradicate them; and though the motive be laudable and the end uſeful, yet ſuch is the diſpoſition of mankind, that they are apt to deride the one, and diſregard the other. If intereſt and paſſion combine to fortify the prejudice, the voice of Reaſon is either not heard, or little attended to; and it is left to poſterity to do that juſtice which is refuſed by the preſent age. Introduction.

This is a melancholy and diſcouraging reflection, and it may, perhaps, be deemed no little preſumption in the perſon who ſhall undertake a taſk of ſuch difficulty; but let it be remembered in excuſe, that if difficulties were to deter, no enterpriſe would be attempted; that the energies of the mind are beſt called into action by endeavouring to overcome them, and that it is by exertion only we can ever hope to acquire knowledge, or attain truth. There is, moreover, an encouraging principle which ſurmounts every objection; it is the hope of ſerving the cauſe of truth, and pointing to the means of diſpelling the miſts of error. The hiſtory of the world is full of inſtances of great effects produced from trivial cauſes; important diſcoveries have been made from accidental circumſtances, and a trifling hint has often led to concluſive experiments. This ſubject, therefore, on which I am

going

going to treat, though begun by one of inferior talents and inadequate abilities, may, poſſibly, be purſued hereafter by ſome perſon poſſeſſed of ſuperior underſtanding, and endued with talents equal to the taſk.

Prejudices againſt the Britiſh Government in India combated.

The prejudices which it is my wiſh to ſubdue, and my purpoſe to combat, are thoſe which have been entertained againſt the *Britiſh Government in India*. The prevailing opinion is, that it has been a ſyſtem of tyranny and injuſtice, and that the ſervants of the Eaſt India Company have been monſters of cruelty and oppreſſion. Whatever may have been the faults of ſome individuals, (and where is the ſociety without them?) the reverſe of this repreſentation is the truth; and I hope to make it appear, that it is an erroneous opinion, founded on partial reports, and foſtered by fallacious accounts. What has tended chiefly to

propagate and ſupport this opinion, is, the great pains and talents which have been employed to circulate it, and the unavoidable ignorance of thoſe into whom it has been inſtilled reſpecting the country of India, the ſituation in which we found it, and the nature of its inhabitants; their laws, religion, and manners. A Review of theſe will tend to elucidate the ſubject; and ſome knowledge of them is abſolutely requiſite in order to form a judgment of the conduct of that government which is arraigned, and in what degree its meaſures have been wiſe and juſt, or weak and oppreſſive.

Cauſes of theſe prejudices.

It hath been very unfortunate for the reputation of the Britiſh Government in India, that it hath ſuffered as much by the miſrepreſentations and exaggerated deſcriptions of its own members, as by any other ſet of men. This hath ariſen partly

partly from *the nature of the government*, and partly from *the nature of things*. Theſe I propoſe to explain: and firſt, —*The nature of the government.*

Nature of the Britiſh Government explained.

It was compoſed of a Council, conſiſting of a Governor and thirteen members; but this number has fluctuated occaſionally from fourteen to four, at which it was laſt fixed by a late act of Parliament in 1784. Every meaſure of government, relative to peace, war, revenue, or commerce, was debated and deliberated on by this Council. The Governor had no other pre-eminence than that of having the caſting vote. But he was the executive magiſtrate of the reſolutions of the Council, and all correſpondence, with the native Princes and powers of India, was carried on through him ſolely, and all the diſpatches to them were ſigned by him ſingly. The Nabob, the Ambaſſadors of foreign

Power of the Governor.

Princes, and all men of rank who viſited the preſidency, were firſt received by him, and by him introduced to the Counſellors. He was alſo the military Governor of Fort William, and Commander in Chief in the Preſidency.

Cauſe of jealouſy.

Theſe diſtinctions, as they gave him ſome ſuperior power, in fact, to the reſt of his Council, and created an opinion of a great deal more in the minds of the natives, rendered his office a ſtation of ſome degree of envy and jealouſy.

It will be eaſily imagined by thoſe who have ſeen the proceedings of deliberative aſſemblies, that there will be difference of opinions amongſt the members, whether the number be great or ſmall: accordingly, that happened in this government, which muſt happen in all governments ſo conſtituted, that the members, differing in opinions, ranged them-

themſelves in different parties. The Governor, and ſuch as were of his opinion, compoſed one ſide; and thoſe who oppoſed him formed the other: the conſequence of this was, that in the variety of matters which came under their conſideration, there were frequent ſubjects of debate; and as many of theſe ſubjects excited both the paſſions and the intereſts of the ſeveral members, their debates were often carried on with heat and violence. Strife and diſſention ſoon found their way into theſe Councils, and hence we find the Company's records filled with party-diſputes.

Opinions of Counſellors recorded;

As it is a rule of the Eaſt India Company's governments, that the opinion of every member ſhall be delivered in writing, and recorded, and as there were generally two ſets of men in Council in oppoſition to each other, opinions are to be found diametrically oppoſite on the

ſame meaſure; and, very frequently, both the meaſure, and the men who propoſed it, are loaded with very heavy abuſe. This was one great cauſe of injury to the reputation of the Britiſh government in India; for when the Miniſtry at home were inclined to condemn or reprobate any of its acts, they juſtified themſelves by the opinions of the very members who were on the ſpot at the time theſe acts were done, and quoted the ſentiments of one party as irrefragable arguments againſt the other. Thus the language of irritated animoſity has been frequently appealed to as proof of mal-adminiſtration, and mere inſinuations and aſſertions, thrown out in the heat of contentious debate, have been brought forward as ſo much ſpecific evidence of actual criminality in the perſons againſt whom theſe inſinuations and aſſertions were levelled.

conſequences of it.

But

But Miniſters are not the only perſons who have availed themſelves of this ſyſtem of the Company, which directs all opinions to be recorded; the principle on which they acted in political diſcuſſions, has been adopted in judicial proceedings; and, in the preſent impeachment, one of the Managers hath contended for the extraordinary doctrine, that theſe records are evidence of a fact; as if an opinion or an inſinuation were a jot more true for being recorded.—Let this reaſoning be applied to a ſubject more immediately under our review, and the abſurdity of it will be inſtantly ſeen: are the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons matters of fact or evidence, becauſe they are recorded on their journals? If they be, our preſent Miniſter ought not to hold his office, and the vote relative to the Middleſex election in 1770, with a thouſand others, ought never to have been expunged.—But

theſe

theſe records are ſo far from being either matters of fact, or matters of evidence, that it has been aſſerted by one of the firſt writers of the age, the Houſe of Commons went ſo far in one inſtance, on the occaſion of the Middleſex election, as to declare, in *open defiance of truth and common ſenſe*, that it was not the rule of the Houſe to divide a complicated queſtion at the requeſt of a member *.

When it is conſidered, what a variety of ſubjects came under the diſcuſſion of a Council which governed and controlled every department of a great kingdom, that their own private intereſts, as well as thoſe of the ſtate, were often implicated in the reſolutions they were taking, it muſt be admitted, that a more fruitful ſource of envy and detraction

* Junius, vol. ii. p. 95.

can-

cannot well be imagined; for almoſt every thing which can excite the paſſions of men was comprehended in their debates, and almoſt every thing which ſuch paſſions could dictate, has been aſſerted. That this is no exaggerated deſcription, nor fanciful delineation, I appeal to the facts of Mr. Vanſittart's government, from the year 1761 to 1764; to Lord Clive's, from 1765 to 1767; and to Mr. Haſtings's, from the year 1774 to 1777 *.

Another cauſe of injury to the reputation of the Britiſh government in

Diſſentions in England cauſe of

* In the year 1763 one member was ſo violent as to give another the lie, which occaſioned a ſcuffle at the council board, and a duel the next day.—Lord Clive told General Carnac he ought to have ſome body near him with a pot of water to throw over him to cool him.—In Mr. Haſtings's government two duels were the conſequence of the heat of their debates.

India

Injury to the Britiſh government.

India from the nature of it, and which flowed from the ſource of party diſſention, was the Court of Directors in England having caught the ſame infection. They were divided in ſentiments; and as different majorities prevailed, different men and meaſures were ſupported. The great leaders of theſe parties were the late Lord Clive and Mr. Sullivan, who, as their influence operated in the Direction, appointed to their governments in India thoſe perſons whoſe intereſts and opinions they eſpouſed. When men ſucceed to power and place under ſuch circumſtances, their minds are too apt to be heated to allow them to form a cool and ſober judgment; nor is it probable they ſhould either inveſtigate with temper, or relate with candour, the acts of thoſe againſt whom they entertained political prejudices.—Thus it happened, that when a new adminiſtration was formed by either party,

Parties.

party, their firſt object was, to find occaſion to condemn the meaſures of their predeceſſors; in doing which they ſeemed to think, that their own characters would riſe in eſtimation, exactly in the ſame proportion as they ſunk thoſe of their opponents. A ſtriking inſtance of this principle is afforded in the appointment of Lord Clive in the year 1764. An arduous ſtruggle, between what was called his intereſt and Mr. Sullivan's, was decided in his Lordſhip's favour in the month of April of that year; and he was appointed Governor of Bengal in conſequence. The Rulers of the former adminiſtration were chiefly the men of Mr. Sullivan's choice; the new Direction, therefore, repreſented the affairs of the Eaſt India Company to be in the moſt deplorable ſituation, and their very exiſtence tottering on the brink of ruin; from which nothing could ſave them but the virtues and abi-

The objects of them.

Lord Clive appointed Governor.

lities

State of Bengal when he arrived.

lities of a Clive. Clive, on his arrival in Bengal, took care to echo back the ſame dreadful tale, and to juſtify his Maſter's judgment in their choice of him and his Select Committee. He landed in Bengal in May 1765. A dangerous war had juſt been ſucceſsfully terminated. The Nabob Jaffier Aly Khan, whom he had firſt placed on the Maſnud, died a few months before his arrival, and a ſucceſſor had been nominated by the former Council. Theſe were two unexpected events, which, had they happened a little later, or had he not been the unuſual length of twelve months on his paſſage, might have afforded his Lordſhip a happy opportunity to diſplay thoſe talents which were deſervedly held in high eſtimation by his employers; and he was a little chagrined at the diſappointment. In this ſituation his attention was employed how to ſupply, by his own means, the loſs of thoſe which fortune

fortune had deprived him of. He could not prevent what had happened; but he might condemn all that had been done; which he failed not to do in terms of the moſt violent abuſe. This, however, did not anſwer all his Lordſhip's purpoſes, and it was not ſufficient for him to condemn the acts of the Council alone; his views had a more extenſive range, and took in the whole circle of the Company's ſervants in Bengal. The firſt diſpatches that were tranſmitted to England by the Select Committee, whoſe proceedings were concealed by an oath of ſecrecy, were filled with the coarſeſt invectives againſt the whole body of ſervants *; and an indiſcriminate cen- His conduct.

* The following quotation may ſerve as a ſpecimen of their temper and ſtyle: "We are heartily ſick of the fruitleſs labour *of raking in the jakes of corruption.*"—Sel. Com. Gen. Let. Fort William, 31 Jan. 1766, par. 14.

ſure

ſure was paſſed, in the moſt unjuſtifiable manner, on every rank in the ſervice; for they had neither the privilege of knowing, nor, of courſe, the means of defending themſelves from the accuſations which were thus ſecretly preferred to their maſters in England.—Lord Clive had certainly great merit, and the nation is highly indebted to his ſervices; but in this inſtance he departed from the dignity of his own character, and wantonly traduced the reputation of others.

Comment on it.

New government of 1774.

The next remarkable inſtance which occurs of the ſame kind, wherein a new Adminiſtration commenced its career by condemning the acts of the preceding, happened juſt ten years after Lord Clive's government. In the year 1774 the affairs of the Eaſt India Company were taken under parliamentary conſideration, and the Miniſter of that day, intent on colonial regulation, turned his thoughts

to

to the management of the Eaſt as well as the Weſt. In the ſame Seſſion that the memorable Boſton Port Bill was paſſed, an Act was alſo made to model anew the form of government in Bengal, which was to conſiſt of a Governor-General and four Members of Council. Three of theſe were ſent from England: they were two military officers of high rank, and a gentleman who was employed in the War-office. In the ſpace of three months after their arrival in a country, of which they were utterly ignorant, and where the chief part of their information was derived through the medium of men whoſe language they did not underſtand, they took upon them to pronounce decidedly, that it was in a ruinous ſtate, and that there was no ſpecies of corruption which had not been practiſed by the former government. In a word, the ſame general accuſation, preferred without any proof, and aſſerted

Who they were.

Their conduct

without any regard to decency, filled their diſpatches to England; and thus has the reputation of the *Britiſh government in India* ſuſtained repeated injuries, from its own members having indulged themſelves in unwarrantable liberties, which men in public life ſeem to think they are authoriſed to take, when they ſpeak of the political conduct of others.

cenſured.

In our own country, the ſame ſort of accuſation and abuſe is beſtowed on Adminiſtration, with very different effect. Oppoſition rail, condemn, and aſſert the Miniſter's wickedneſs and the nation's ruin, in the moſt violent language, without the leaſt attention being paid to the alarming repreſentation. But let the ſame things be ſaid of an Adminiſtration in India, they are immediately believed, and the nation is in a flame. The reaſon of this difference is, at home we know and can judge of the facts; the aſſertions are made in ſpeeches, which

Remark on the difference of Engliſh and Indian Adminiſtration.

cannot

cannot be recorded, and paſs away with the occaſion: in India every thing is written and made a matter of record. The written memorial is referred to, years after the event has happened, and the circumſtances of it are forgotten; nothing further is known of the nature of the facts aſſerted, and therefore no judgment can be formed upon any thing extrinſic to the Company's records upon the ſubject. In the one caſe, we know it is political clamour; in the other we are utterly ignorant; and not being able to judge of the reality, we neceſſarily admit the repreſentation.

Other cauſes of prejudice againſt Britiſh government

Having endeavoured to explain the cauſes of thoſe prejudices which aroſe from the *nature of the Britiſh government in India*; I will proceed to the other cauſes, which I claſs under the *nature of things*. Under this head I comprehend, *the ſituation of the country*, and *the ſyſtem*

of the Company's commerce. The ſituation of the country may be conſidered in two points of view, the vaſt diſtance of it, and the ſtate in which we found it.

From the remoteneſs of India our intercourſe with it was neceſſarily confined to a few, and our ignorance ſo great, that it was in the power of any deſigning perſon, either from intereſt or malice, or both, to create almoſt any prejudice that might ſuit his purpoſe. It was impoſſible for the Directors, the Miniſters, or any part of the nation to whom the tales might be told, to judge of their truth or falſehood, their probability or abſurdity. And there were ſome perſons, whom diſappointment had ſoured, and diſcontent rendered envious, who vented their complaints to their connexions in England, in ſuch unfair repreſentations, as to occaſion many unjuſt prejudices in the minds of thoſe to whom theſe communications

explained.

nications were made: they imparted them to others, and private reports, which originated from particular diſſatisfaction or malevolence, were circulated to the general injury of a whole community. Even the purpoſes of ambition have been ſerved by this diſingenuous method of publiſhing artful miſrepreſentations. I could point out ſeveral inſtances in the Company's records, where the Court of Directors have been miſled in their opinions, from the cauſe to which I have attributed much prejudice, namely, the want of local knowledge, owing to the vaſt diſtance of the country; but I will content myſelf with mentioning a very memorable one regarding Mahommed Reza Cawn: He was a native of rank; and in the year 1765, when Lord Clive accepted the grant of the Dewanny, was appointed firſt Miniſter for the execution of the office of Naib Dewan, and Deputy to the Nabob.

Inſtances given.

He had filled theſe eminent ſtations with general approbation for ſeven years: but in the year 1772, the Court of Directors ordered him to be diſmiſſed, and brought to a public trial in Calcutta, in conſequence of *private information*, which accuſed him, in *general terms*, of *miſdemeanors in office*, and of having contributed to the calamities of the poor in the famine which happened in 1769.

In conſequence of this general accuſation, which ſpecified neither time, place, nor perſons, Mahommed Reza Cawn was diveſted of his rank and influence, and brought to Calcutta, where a very ſtrict, and, to the honour of the Adminiſtration of Bengal, a very impartial enquiry was made into his conduct; from which it appeared, that the Court of Directors had been groſsly deceived by this *private intelligence*, and that he was entirely innocent of the imputed charges

charges which had been thus *clandeſtinely* preferred againſt him.

The dreadful famine to which the Directors alluded, was a fruitful ſource of calumny and miſrepreſentation; and although it be an undeniable and notorious fact, that the periodical rains failed in that year in an unuſual manner, and that without rain it is as impoſſible to have rice as it is to have wheat without ſunſhine, yet this cauſe, which is out of the reach of human power, was abſurdly aſſerted, and believed to have been occaſioned by the Britiſh government. And to ſuch a height was the prejudice and credulity carried, that a gentleman, who had been high in ſtation in the Company's ſervice, was moſt unjuſtly charged with having contributed to a calamity which proceeded entirely from a phyſical cauſe, *which happened when he was actually in England*, and to which, there-

fore, he could not poſſibly have been acceſſary, even if human means had been any part of the cauſe.

An example of more public notoriety, and of more general effect of the ſame kind, and proceeding from the ſame cauſe, is afforded in the malicious publication of Mr. Bolts. This man, who was of a revengeful, turbulent, and ſeditious temper, had violated his fidelity to the Company, and endeavoured, on various occaſions, to diſturb the peace of their government in Bengal. After repeated inſtances of daring miſconduct and provocation, the Governor and Council were at length compelled to order him to depart to Europe, and, ultimately, to ſeize and ſend him on ſhipboard, as he had for near two years refuſed obedience to their orders, and reſiſted their authority.

The

The reſentments of a mind, like that of Mr. Bolts, were eaſily excited; but on this occaſion they were raiſed to a height of fury; and in order to revenge himſelf on the Company and their ſervants, he compoſed this ſpiteful work, wherein truth is artfully perverted, and facts and falſehoods ſo ſpeciouſly interwoven, that the baſe purpoſe for which this performance was publiſhed, was fully anſwered, and the vindictive author gratified his private reſentments, by exciting and ſpreading an univerſal clamour and prejudice againſt the Eaſt India Company and their ſervants. However the reputation of this publication ſoon ſunk in the opinion of the world; and though it did excite, on its firſt appearance, great curioſity and clamour againſt the government in India, yet in a few years the infamy of the author's character and deſign being fully detected, his book has been deſervedly neglected,

and

and conſidered as the effuſion of a malignant mind.

But there is a work of a very different kind, wherein the ſame unhappy prejudice has been entertained by a moſt reſpectable author; and the ſame unfortunate cauſe, for want of proper information regarding this remote country, has led him into an error, which, coming from ſuch authority, may have an influence on the lateſt poſterity. The work to which I allude, is the celebrated performance of *The Wealth of Nations, by Adam Smith.* A performance which will laſt as long as the Engliſh language, and be read and reſpected as long as good ſenſe, great knowledge, and valuable information ſhall be eſteemed by mankind.

In page 477 of the ſecond volume, Mr. Smith ſays, ſpeaking of the oppreſ-

ſion

ſion of monopolies, and comparing their effects in different ſtates, "The Engliſh "Company have not yet had time to "eſtabliſh in Bengal ſo perfectly de- "ſtructive a ſyſtem." The plan of the "government, however, has had exactly "the ſame tendency. *It has not been "uncommon, I am well aſſured, for the "Chief, that is, the firſt clerk of a factory, "to order a peaſant to plow up a rich "field of poppies, and ſow it with rice "or ſome other grain. The pretence was "to prevent a ſcarcity of proviſions; but "the real reaſon, to give the Chief an "opportunity of ſelling, at a better price, "a large quantity of opium which he had "upon hand. Upon other occaſions the "order has been reverſed, and a rich "field of rice, or other grain: has been "plowed up to make room for a plantation "of poppies, when the Chief ſaw that "extraordinary profit was likely to be "made by opium.*"

This

This is, undoubtedly, a piece of miſ-information to which this moſt reſpectable gentleman would not have liſtened, if he had either underſtood the manner of cultivating theſe plants, or had been poſſeſſed of any local knowledge on the ſubject. I have made very diligent inquiries, both on the ſpot and in England, amongſt thoſe who muſt have known the facts which Mr. Smith relates, if they had been, as he aſſerts he was aſſured, *no uncommon practice*; and I have been uniformly anſwered, that they never heard of ſuch inſtances. But what will put the matter out of all doubt, are the following incontrovertible facts:

The poppy is a plant which requires a peculiar ſoil, and particular care in the culture of it. The medium price of the land on which it is cultivated, is about eleven or twelve rupees a *begah*, or one-third of an Engliſh acre. It is ſowed at the

the beginning of October, when the ſeaſon of the periodical rain expires. The plant begins to be fit for inciſion, in order to extract its juice, of which opium is made, about the end of December, and continues ſo till March. It requires a dry ſoil, and can be brought to maturity only in the dry ſeaſon, when the periodical rains have ceaſed. Paddy or rice lands let, on a medium, at three rupees a begah. Rice is ſowed about the end of May, juſt before the periodical rains commence. One crop is reaped about the end of September; and another, which is the laſt, and by far the greateſt, about the end of December. It requires a ſoil ſaturated with water, and lies ſoaked in it for a conſiderable time. On this account it is ſowed juſt before the periodical rains commence; and nine-tenths of the quantity of rice, produced in the Company's provinces, grow in the kingdom of

of Bengal, which is ſo low and flat, that the grounds are either overflowed by the rivers Ganges and Burrumporter, with their tributary ſtreams, or ſoaked with the rain which falls and ſtagnates in them. It is therefore evident, that the ſoil and the ſeaſon, which can alone fructify the paddy or rice, would rot and deſtroy the poppy; and it is therefore as evident, that it is utterly impoſſible, from the nature of the two plants, that one ſhould be plowed up to ſow the other.

Syſtem of the Com. pay's commerce.

I ſhall reſerve what I have to ſay on the ſtate in which we found the country of India for another place, and proceed to ſhew how the *ſyſtem of the Company's commerce* has, from the *nature of the thing*, created prejudices.

Monopolies are regarded in a commercial country with a peculiarly jealous eye. Every

Every other mercantile adventurer in the State is naturally envious of the perſons to whom theſe excluſive privileges are granted; and thus, by a very large body of the nation, a joint Company and its ſervants, become the objects of envy. This prepoſſeſſion gives a bias to the minds of men; and whenever they ſee or hear of a perſon who has been fortunate in the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company, they conceive a degree of ſecret prejudice againſt him; but if any report be whiſpered to the injury of his reputation, it is eagerly liſtened to, and readily admitted, without examining either its probability or authenticity. Another cauſe of prejudice proceeding from the ſyſtem of the Company's commerce is, the confounding of two very diſtinct matters, in which the blame of the thing ordered to be done has been unjuſtly imputed to the perſon ordered to do it. From a ſet of mere merchants, the Eaſt India Company became

Creates prejudices.

became the Sovereigns of the country they traded to. Hence aroſe a very important diſtinction of the two characters to which they did not attend; and it has been wiſely obſerved by the celebrated Author of the Wealth of Nations, that after they became Sovereigns, they abſurdly regarded that character but as an appendix to that of the monarch, and as ſomething which ought to be made ſubſervient to it. As Sovereigns, their intereſt is exactly the ſame with that of the country which they govern. As merchants, their intereſt is directly oppoſite. In this ſituation, when the adminiſtration in India did any thing in obedience to the orders of the Directors, which orders, being dictated by the ſpirit of merchants, were prejudicial to the intereſts of the country, that injury has been unjuſtly attributed to their ſervants, who were only the inſtruments, and not the authors of the detriment. If, on the other

Servants vindicated.

hand, the Adminiſtration of India were influenced in their councils by the ſpirit with which a Sovereign would act for the good of his country; ſuch meaſures were condemned, ſometimes by the Company, who judged as merchants, and ſometimes by the Miniſtry, who made any political acts a plea for their interference; and, as it ſerved their purpoſe, raiſed a clamour, either about the extenſion of territory, the ambition of conqueſt, or the inſatiable thirſt of power and dominion of the ſervants in India.

In juſtice, therefore, to the government of India, this diſtinction ſhould be always kept in mind; and whenever the policy of a meaſure is to be judged, it ought to be well conſidered how far the effect of that meaſure, if it has been hurtful to the general intereſt of the country, is to be attributed to the cauſe Remark.

of the Company acting as merchants, when they ought to have governed as ſovereigns. Again, when any meaſure of the Adminiſtration in India is to be decided on, it ought to be conſidered how far they acted as ſovereigns, intent upon the good of the whole, and attended to the general intereſt of the country, without regarding the narrower views of mercantile profit.

Of the State of that Part of India called Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, when it came under the Britiſh Government.

State of India before Britiſh government.

I HAVE purpoſely reſerved what I have to ſay on this ſubject for a diſtinct diſcuſſion; becauſe it is not only complicated in its nature, but has been rendered much more ſo by artful miſrepreſentations, exaggerated deſcriptions, and erroneous information. Theſe have made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of men, have infuſed ſuch ſtrong prejudices, and created ſuch falſe opinions, that it will be very difficult to perſuade them they have been groſsly deceived, and formed their judgment on fallacious repreſentations: yet ſuch is really the caſe, and I hope to be able to evince it.

It is well known, that the country of Hindooſtan was invaded and conquered by Tamerlane and his ſucceſſors; and that his deſcendants ſat on the throne of Delhy under the title of Great Mogul. That part of Hindooſtan, which compriſes the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, formed a diviſion of the empire, called a *Soubahdarry*, which was governed by a Viceroy called a *Soubahdar*. This appointment was temporary, and at one period ſo fluctuating, owing to the unſteadineſs of the Court at Delhy, that there is a current ſtory of one of theſe Viceroys, who, as ſoon as he had received his appointment, left the city of Delhy, and mounted his elephant with his face towards the animal's tail, aſſigning as a reaſon for this ludicrous poſture, that he was looking for his ſucceſſor.

Soubahdar or Viceroy.

Temporary appointment.

The Mogul empire had attained its utmoſt vigour in the reign of Aurungzebe,

zebe, which laſted from the middle of the laſt to the beginning of the preſent century; and ſoon after his death it began to decline. As long, however, as it's inſtitutes were enforced, all offices of ſtate, and titles of rank, could only be conferred by the immediate command of the Emperor. There was a particular department * from which all ſunnuds, or grants, for thoſe purpoſes were iſſued, and particular regulations were formed, both to mark the dignity and ſtamp the authenticity of the grant. Some had nothing but the royal ſeal; others the ſeals and ſignatures of the Miniſters and the royal ſeal; others, again, only the ſeals and ſignatures of the Miniſters, without the royal ſeal. The Soubahdar, or Viceroy, had his ſunnud authenticated by the ſignature of the Miniſters

* Ayeen Akbery, or Inſtitutes of Achbar. Engliſh Tranſlation, vol. i. p. 271.

and the royal ſeal; and ſo had every perſon of the rank of *Munſubdar*, from which he alſo derived the *title* of *Nawab*. But when the empire declined, and forms and ſubſtance both decayed, the Soubahdars often appointed Deputies in their provinces (as was done in the Soubah of Bengal, at Patna, Poorneah, and other places), who were called *Naibs*. Theſe men, deriving a conſequence from their ſtation, aſſumed a dignity which properly could be conferred only by the Emperor, and ſtiled themſelves *Nawab*, or, as it is better known in Europe, *Nabob*. Hence it has happened, that many of theſe Deputies of a Deputy have been erroneouſly called Native Princes of high rank and hereditary dignity; whereas they were only the delegates of a delegated officer, and, like him, mere adventurers from Perſia or the adjacent countries, who had nothing to truſt to but their ſword and their ſpirit. Theſe are the

Perſian adventurers.

men,

men, as I ſhall ſhew immediately, who, in violation of all law and juſtice, threw off their obedience to the Viceroy, uſurped the dominion of theſe provinces, and were in this illegal poſſeſſion of them when we firſt interfered in their government.

In the year 1725, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa were governed by Soujah Cawn, as Soubahdar; and this title, which had heretofore been temporary, was granted to him and his family, by the Mogul, as a reward for his zeal and fidelity to the crown. Bahar and Oriſſa he committed to the rule of two deputies, whilſt he himſelf kept his court at Moorſhedabad, in the centre of Bengal. His only ſon, Surfraz Cawn, ſucceeded him in the year 1739. The unwieldy empire of the Moguls, which had been in its decline for more than half a century, received its downfal

Soujah Cawn, 1725.

Surfraz Cawn, 1739.

about this period by the invaſion of Nadir Shah; and the Governors of theſe diſtant provinces now threw off all allegiance to their vanquiſhed Sovereign.

Hadjee Hamet—Aly Verdy Cawn.

Some time before the acceſſion of Soujah Cawn, two Mogul adventurers, named Hadjee Hamet and Aly Verdy Cawn, came into Bengal, ſtrongly recommended by ſome of the principal Omrahs at the Court of Delhy, and were, in conſequence, received into Soujah's ſervice; the former as an officer of the foot ſoldiers, and the latter in the menial capacity of his pipe-bearer *.

Their characters

Hadjee was ſubtle, ſordid, and inſinuating. Aly Verdy Cawn was bold, ambitious, and aſpiring. Their different talents being thus ſuited to the purpoſes

* Scrofton's Hindooſtan, p. 31.

of

of each other, Hadjee determined to render his baſer qualifications ſubſervient to the more generous vices of Aly Verdy's diſpoſition. Eager to gratify his own avidity for wealth, and his brother's inordinate deſire of power, he made no ſcruple of taking the moſt profligate means to accompliſh his deſigns. The ruling paſſion of his Maſter, Soujah Cawn, was luſt; and to this the abandoned Hadjee ſacrificed the honour and the innocence of his own daughter*. Having thus baſely ingratiated himſelf with Soujah, he procured the appointment of *Naib*, or *Nawab* of Patna for his brother, Aly Verdy Cawn. In this ſituation he had an ample opportunity of acquiring that degree of power which he wanted to fulfil his ambitious hopes; and ſoon after the death of Soujah Cawn, and conduct.

* Scroſton's Hindooſtan, p. 32.

this

this ungrateful rebel took up arms againſt Surfraz Cawn, the ſon and ſucceſſor of his indulgent Maſter. He was ſucceſsful in his rebellion, and in the year 1742 defeated and killed Surfraz Cawn in a pitched battle *.

Surfraz Cawn killed, 1742; Aly Verdy Cawn ſucceeds.

Emperor invites the Mahrattas to invade Bengal.

The Emperor, or Mogul, was at this time an empty name, without power and without dominion; and being utterly unable to interfere himſelf in this uſurpation of his rebel ſubject, he propoſed to the Mahratta State to diſpatch a force againſt Aly Verdy Cawn, ſend the heads of the two brothers to Delhy, and re-inſtate the family of Soujah Cawn †. The Mahrattas invaded Bengal, with immenſe armies ‡, and gave the uſurper great diſquiet by their incurſions for ſeveral years: till, at laſt,

* Scrafton's Hindooſtan, p. 32.
† Ib. p. 37. ‡ Ib. p. 46.

he

he ſettled a treaty with them in 1750 *. After various ſtruggles for his ill-gotten power, he died in quiet poſſeſſion of his uſurped dominions in the year 1756, and left them to his nephew, Surajah Dowlah; that inhuman tyrant, who wantonly attacked the Engliſh Factory, and murdered ſo many of the inhabitants, by putting them into that dreadful dungeon, ſtill remembered with horror by the name of the Black Hole.

Treaty made with them 1756.

Aly Verdy Cawn dies, 1756.

Surajah Dowlah ſucceeds.

Whilſt Aly Verdy Cawn governed the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, as Soubahdar, the interior diſtricts were ruled, under him, by the deſcendants of Hadjee (for he himſelf had no children), under the titles of *Nabob* † of Patna, *Nabob* ‡ of Dacca, and *Nabob* § of Pur-

Interior government of Bengal under Aly Verdy Cawn.

Nabobs of provinces, who.

* Scrofton's Hindooſtan, p. 47.
† Mirza Mahmud Cawn.
‡ Nowagis Mahammed Cawn.
§ Sid Hamet.

neah :

neah * : and the poſterity of theſe low adventurers, who firſt uſurped their power, and then aſſumed their titles, are the men who have been dignified in Europe by the name of Princes; and ſet forth as perſons of great hereditary dignity, and illuſtrious deſcent. And this was the caſe in other provinces in the empire, as well as Bengal; for, ſince the reign of Aurungzebe, all the old families of diſtinction had ſunk into inſignificance, or were become extinct, and in every ſucceeding reign almoſt every man, who roſe to promotion and honours, was taken from the middling, and even loweſt claſs of life.

Vizier, who.

The Vizier Monſur Aly Cawn, who kept his Sovereign and his family priſoners at this time, came into Hindooſtan, like other Perſian adventurers, to ſeek his fortune; where he was lucky enough to raiſe

* Scroſton's Hindooſtan, p. 48.

himſelf

himſelf to this high poſt, and to leave it to his ſon Sujah Dowlah, father of the man who, at the preſent, holds this empty but high-ſounding title.

Character and ſituation of the native inhabitants.

Such being the rulers of this country, amidſt the confuſion and miſery into which ſo many wars and revolutions had involved it, let us take a curſory view of the native inhabitants, the Hindoos. From the enervating effects of the climate, from the tenets of their religion, and from the combined influence of theſe cauſes, the Hindoos are a meek, timid, ſuperſtitious race of people; and became an eaſy prey to their Mahommedan conquerors. What their ſyſtem of government was before, or at that time, is unknown to us; the only veſtige of it is in their religious and civil code of laws, which their conquerors permitted them to follow, as far as was conſiſtent with their own deſpotic plan.

Without

Title of Rajah,

Without entering into the wide field of conjecture about their ancient government, it will be ſufficient for my purpoſe, to ſhew the ſtate and condition of the Hindoos at the period of the Britiſh adminiſtration. The title of *Rajah*, in the time of their own government, was certainly that by which the governing power was called; but of the nature of its rights, and how it deſcended, or was conferred, we are now ignorant. There are many Hindoo families, at this day, who have the title of Rajah; but they have either aſſumed it themſelves, or, what is more abſurd, have had it conferred on them by their Mahommedan rulers; for the Great Mogul is juſt as competent, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to make a Chriſtian Duke as an Hindoo Rajah. And if any Engliſhman had been ſilly enough to ſuffer himſelf to have been created Duke of Patna, he might have boaſted of his nobility and high rank with

how aſſumed and conferred.

as

as much propriety as the Rajah of Benares; who, from being a mere collector of revenue, was made a Zemindar by Shujah Dowlah, the ſon of that Perſian adventurer, Monſur Aly Cawn, who made himſelf Vizier. The fact is, there is ſcarcely an old Hindoo family exiſting; and as to an ancient nobility, which is one of the errors that has been propagated, *there is no ſuch thing.* Remark.

With regard to the title of *Zemindar*, this appellation is certainly of Mahommedan origin, for it is compoſed of two Perſian words ſignifying land-holder: it is therefore evidently no rank of Hindoo creation; and whatever reſpect, dignity, or privileges the perſons who hold this rank may have claimed in the decline of the empire, when all orders were confounded, there is great reaſon to think, that, in its original inſtitution by the Mahommedans, it was only an *office* temporary Zemindars, what.

porary and conditional. The grant of a Zemindar, called Sunnud, bears ſtrong internal evidence of this; for it is there expreſsly called *the office of Zemindar*. It preſcribes certain ſtipulated duties, orders the performance of certain acts, and the forbearance of others, and (what is very unlike hereditary right) requires a ſecurity for the perſonal appearance of the Zemindar.—He is obliged to attend the Exchequer of the King's chief officer of collection, at the commencement of every year, to make a new ſettlement of his revenues; and he cannot enter upon the duties of his office for the new year without a ſpecial order for this purpoſe. When a Zemindar dies, the next of kin does not ſucceed of courſe as to a legitimate right. Whoever has pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, is obliged to petition the Sovereign to be inveſted with the office, in which petition he promiſes to perform all the ſtipulated conditions, and to pay the

Their office explained.

the cuſtomary fees. When his petition is granted, a new Sunnud is iſſued, but till he obtains this ſpecial inveſtiture he cannot act as Zemindar.

Power granted them

It was neceſſary to confer a conſiderable degree of power on the Zemindars, in order to enable them to fulfil the duties of their office; and as it is an inherent principle in all deſpotic governments, that every portion of delegated power is exerciſed in the ſame plenary and arbitrary manner, by the perſon to whom it is granted, as by the deſpot himſelf *, ſo theſe Zemindars were the little tyrants of their own juriſdiction. In proceſs of time, and as the ſupreme power became weak, the encroachments of the Zemin-

* Dans le gouvernement deſpotique, le pouvoir paſſe tout entier dans les mains de celui à qui on le confie. Le Vizier eſt le deſpot lui-même; et chaque officier particulier eſt le Vizier.

L'Eſprit de Loix, ch. xvi. liv. v.

abuſed.

dars were leſs attended to; and after the irruption of Nadir Shah, when every thing was thrown into confuſion, when the Viceroys threw off all obedience to the Emperor, and when their deputies, the Nabobs, threw off all obedience to them, and uſurped their power, it is probable the Zemindars, in their turn, aſſumed rights and privileges which, in their original inſtitution, they were not intitled to. But although it has been permitted them by the Nabobs to claim an hereditary ſucceſſion to their Zemindary, yet they were often treated as mere officers of collection, and with a degree of ſeverity unknown in the Britiſh government. "Moorſhud Kuly Cawn *, "(in the reign of Aurungzebe) for the "purpoſe of making a fuller inveſtiga- "tion of the capacity of the lands, or-

Treatment of them by Moorſhud Kuly Cawn.

* Narrative of the Government of Bengal, tranſlated by Gladwin, p. 43, 44.

"dered

" dered the Zemindars into cloſe con-
" finement, and put the collections into
" the hands of Bengally Aumils." Some of his ſucceſſors have ſince treated them with as little conſideration, in this reſpect; and even at ſo late a period as Mr. Varelſt's government, in the year 1769, they are threatened to be diſpoſſeſſed if they diſobey the orders of the Council, which were, to make the ſame ſort of ſcrutiny as had been done by Moorſhud Kuly Cawn *.

Sometimes perſons became ſecurity to government for the payment of the Zemindar's revenue, under the name of Ahdad-arr, or, as they are commonly called, *Woodédars;* and then they had either a joint, or ſuperior power to the Zemindar in the management of the

Woode-bars, what.

* Inſtructions to Superviſors, Aug. 16, 1769.

collections. Sometimes government ſent its own officers into their diſtricts with an immediate appointment from itſelf, which entirely ſuperſeded their authority, under the different names of *Aumil*, *Tahſildar*, *Sezawul:* In a word, a Zemindar is, by the nature of his tenure, a vaſſal who holds of his ſuperior Lord by a grant that is conditional and dependant.

Aumils, &c.

Zemindary not limited in value or extent.

A Zemindary is not limited in extent or value. There are in Bengal Zemindaries which yield a revenue of as high a value as three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling a year; and ſome that do not pay more than three hundred and fifty pounds. The principal Zemindars of Bengal, in regard to the extent and value of their lands, are thoſe of Rajeſhay and Burdwan, whoſe diſtricts, taken together, make one fifth of the whole province. But they are both of modern date, and compriſe a number

Rajeſhay and Burdwan.

of

of ſubordinate landholders, who poſſeſs tenures of the ſame kind as the great Zemindars, called Talookdars.

All the great, and many of the middling Zemindars, having procured for themſelves the title of Rajah, affect a great deal of pomp and ſtate in their diſtricts, exact an implicit obedience from their tenants, keep them in as abject ſubjection, and are juſt as deſpotic with their dependants, as their Mahommedan rulers are with them. Some of them are likewiſe of the tribe of Bramins, which gives them additional influence, and procures them unlimited authority. The reverence which religion inſpires, joined to the power which the Sovereign had granted, rendered the Zemindars abſolute in their juriſdiction, and gave them an almoſt uncontrolled liberty of plundering their tenants; in which they were indulged by the Nabobs, from the intereſted

Conduct of Zemindars.

Oppreſſion.

reſted motive of plundering them again, when they had ſo enriched themſelves *. Mr. Scrofton, who reſided many years in India, and was well acquainted with the language, cuſtoms, and manners of the natives, gives the following deſcription, in his Hiſtory of Hindooſtan, of this ſort of conduct in the Mahommedan rulers and their Hindoo ſubjects :—" Unhappily for the Gentoos [Hindoos],

* Another conſiderable ſource of profit to the Zemindar is, *the levying fines at will.* He likewiſe raiſes large ſums from duties collected in the market, *and aſſumes an authority over the Ryotts to require their labour gratuitouſly.* He frequently claims a bacta on rupees at an extraordinary valuation, which is an illegal perquiſite. *The truth cannot be doubted, that the poor and induſtrious tenant is taxed by his Zemindar, for every extravagance that avarice, ambition, pride, vanity, or intemperance may lead him into, over and above what is generally deemed the eſtabliſhed rent of his lands. If he is to be married, a child born, honours conferred, luxury indulged, and nuzzaronas, or fines, exacted, even for his own miſconduct, all muſt be paid by the Ryott.*

Sel. Com. Conſult. 16 Aug. 1769.

" them-

" themſelves are made the miniſters of
" oppreſſion over each other; the Moor-
" men, haughty, lazy, and voluptuous,
" make them, of whom they have no
" jealouſy, the miniſters of their oppreſ-
" ſion, which further anſwers the end
" of dividing them, and prevents their
" uniting to fling off the yoke; and by
" the ſtrange intoxication of power,
" they are found *ſtill more rapacious and*
" *cruel than their foreign maſters;* and,
" what is more extraordinary, the Bra-
" mins ſtill exceed the reſt in every
" abuſe of power, and ſeem to think,
" if they bribe God by beſtowing a part
" of their plunder on cows and Faquirs,
" their iniquities will be pardoned *."

This was the ſituation of the people in India under their native rulers, before

* Scrofton's Hindooſtan, p. 26.

Conduct of British government to the natives, vindicated.

any interference of the Engliſh; yet nothing has been more induſtriouſly propagated than the very unjuſt and injurious opinion, that the Britiſh government hath exerciſed great and unuſual ſeverities in the collection of the revenues, and in its adminiſtration of this department. So much pains have been taken, and ſo much art has been uſed in diſſeminating this opinion, that it is generally imagined the Engliſh have invented tortures and puniſhments to extort money from the miſerable inhabitants of India; and the ready compariſon of Spaniſh cruelty in America, immediately preſenting itſelf to the minds both of the relators and hearers of theſe artful tales, the names of Cortez and Pizarro have been bandied about, till it is univerſally believed, that every Engliſh Governor has exceeded them in cruelty and avarice. A more unjuſt notion, and a more falſe repre-

ſentation was never promoted by malice, nor entertained by credulity.

When the Britiſh government interfered in the rule of the provinces, they were found to be in a ruinous ſtate, from the ravages of war, the depredations of invaders, and the oppreſſions of uſurpers. In the moſt ſettled ſtate of the country, and at the period of its moſt regular adminiſtration, the government was purely deſpotic: the mode of collecting its revenues was even then ſeverely arbitrary; the puniſhments that were permitted to be inflicted were cruel, and the whole ſyſtem was ſuch as would ſhock the more liberal minds of Europeans.— "The people of Aſia," ſays Preſident Montéſquieu *, "are governed by the "cudgel; the people of Tartary by long "whips. The ſpirit of Europe has been

Collection of revenues arbitrary.

* L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xvii. ch. v.

always

" always contrary to theſe manners; " and in all times what the people of Aſia " have called puniſhment, the people of " Europe have called outrage." Neither the manners of one nation, nor the ſpirit of the other are changed. The Britiſh government found the cudgel and the whip ſeverely uſed by the Aſiatics, in their mode of collecting the revenue; they deemed the practice an outrage, and have done all in their power to ſuppreſs it. A very few years only have elapſed ſince it could interpoſe with effect; but in that ſhort time it has happily produced a reformation, which at once confutes the unjuſt aſperſion of cruelty, and vindicates its claim to mildneſs and humanity; nor will the boldeſt of its adverſaries be hardy enough to deny, That the Britiſh government has diſcouraged, as much as poſſible, all oppreſſive meaſures; That it has aboliſhed the horrid modes of puniſhment inflicted by the Mahom-

Rendered much milder by the Britiſh govern. ment.

Mahommedans; That it has afforded much eaſier means of redreſs than the Aſiatic government; That it has inſtituted a more regular plan of juſtice; That it has enſured to the natives more eaſe and ſecurity; and That it has preſerved them in a much ſuperior degree of peace and tranquillity.

Proofs of ſeverity in Mahommedan government.

I do not advance theſe general poſitions from a preſumptuous confidence, that a bold aſſertion, unſupported by facts, either deſerves attention, or will procure conviction; and I claim no credit for what I do advance, but as I may be able to eſtabliſh the truth, by ſubſtantial proofs—to which I now proceed.

In the reign of Aurungzebe, the Soubahdar, or Viceroy, of Bengal, &c. was Moorſhud Kuly Cawn, who was afterwards known by the title of Jaffier Cawn, with which he was honoured as a reward

ward for his eminent ſervices. The revenue was a branch of government in which he was ſo peculiarly ſkilful, that the Emperor united in his perſon two offices, heretofore diſtinct; namely, Soubahdar and Dewan *. The manner in which he treated the Zemindars, and conducted the buſineſs of the collections, is thus related by a native hiſtorian, who wrote a narrative of the tranſactions in Bengal, during his Soubahdary, and that of ſeveral of his ſucceſſors.

" For † the purpoſe of making a fuller " inveſtigation of the capacity of the " lands, *he ordered all the Zemindars* " *into cloſe confinement*, and put the col- " lections into the hands of Bengally " Collectors ‡, who executed written ob-

* Narrative of Tranſactions in Bengal, tranſlated by Gladwin, p. 42.

† Ibid. p. 43, 44.

‡ *Aumils*.

" ligations.

" ligations *. The revenues were paid
" immediately into the Exchequer by
" theſe collectors, the Zemindars being
" deprived of all interference in the re-
" ceipts and diſburſements.

" In † the arrangements of govern-
" ment, he ſhewed favour to no one,
" but never failed to reward merit
" wherever he found it. He placed not
" entire confidence in his accomptants ‡,
" but required a daily account of the
" expenditures and balances, which he
" examined, and then ſigned with his
" own hand. On the laſt day of the
" month, he exacted from the Exche-
" quer §, the Cuſtom-houſe ‖, the privy-

* *Takvods*, Muchulkahs.

† Narrative of Tranſactions in Bengal, tranſlated by Gladwin, p. 58, 59, 60, 61.

‡ Mutſeddies.

§ Khalſah.

Khaſneveeſee.

" purſe,

" purſe *, and other offices †, the a-
" mount due to the uttermoſt far-
" thing ‡. Until the monthly inſtal-
" ments were paid into the Royal Trea-
" ſury *he would not ſuffer any body to be*
" *at reſt.* He put ſtrict guards § over
" the accountants ‖, collectors ¶, and
" their officers **, and confined them in
" the Revenue-office ††, or in the hall
" of audience ‡‡ of the Nabob's pa-
" lace §§, where they were *refuſed vic-*
" *tuals and drink, and not ſuffered to*
" *perform the other neceſſary calls of na-*

* Bhelah.
† Jagheers, Beyootat.
‡ Dam.
§ Mohuſſils.
‖ Mutſeddies.
¶ Aumils.
** Connongoes.
†† Kutcherry, Kanah.
‡‡ Dewan.
§§ Chehelſetoon.

ture.

" *ture.* Spies* were alſo employed to
" diſcover if the guards were bribed to
" allow them *even a drop of water*, and
" they were ſometimes kept in this
" manner *ſo many days as to be brought*
" *to the point of death, and reduced to*
" *ſkin and bone.* If their ſervants brought
" them any ſuſtenance with the conni-
" vance of the guards, if diſcovered,
" they were ſeized by the ſpies and ſe-
" verely puniſhed. To theſe ſeverities
" were added the cruelties of Nazir Ah-
" med. *He uſed to ſuſpend the Zemin-*
" *dars by the heels, and, after rubbing*
" *the ſoles of their feet with a hard brick,*
" *baſtinado them with a ſwitch. In the*
" *winter he would order them to be ſtrip-*
" *ped naked, and then ſprinkled with*
" *water; and he alſo uſed to have them*
" *flogged till they conſented to pay the mo-*
" *ney.*"

* Hircarrahs.

" Moorſhud

" Moorſhud Kuly Cawn employed " none but *Bengally Hindoos* in the col-" lection of the revenues, becauſe they " are moſt eaſily compelled by puniſh-" ments to diſcover their malpractices, " and nothing is to be apprehended " from their puſilanimity. When he " diſcovered that a Collector or Zemin-" dar had diſſipated the revenues, and " then falling into balance, was unable to " make good the deficiency, *he compelled* " *the offender, his wife and children, to* " *turn Mahommedans.*"

The ſame hiſtorian who relates theſe facts, as redounding to the praiſe of this Soubahdar, alſo informs us, " that the " upright and judicious conduct of " Moorſhud Kuly Cawn was ſo conſpi-" cuous, that the Emperor was continu-" ally beſtowing favours upon him, till " at length he obtained the titles of " *The faithful Servant of the Empire,*"

The

" *The Glory of the State, Jaffier Cawn*
" *Nuſſeeree* (a peculiar ſect of the Schiites),
" *The Victorious in War* *." And he further adds, " Since the time of " Shayiſtah Cawn, there had not ap- " peared in Bengal, nor indeed in any " part of Hindooſtan, an Aumeer who " could be compared with Jaffier Cawn, " for zeal in the propagation of the " faith; for wiſdom in the eſtabliſhment " of laws and regulations; for munifi- " cence and liberality in the encourage- " ment and ſupport given to men of fa- " mily and eminence; for rigid and im- " partial juſtice in redreſſing wrongs and " puniſhing offenders; in ſhort, whoſe " whole adminiſtration ſo much tended " to the benefit of mankind and the " glory of the Creator †."

* Narrative of Tranſactions in Bengal, tranſlated by Gladwin, p. 65.

† Ibid. p. 109.

Reflection on Jaffier Cawn's administration.

If ſuch a character as Jaffier Cawn were rewarded by his Sovereign with titles and honours, and if ſuch conduct procured him the flattering appellation of the *Faithful Servant of the Empire*, the *Glory of the State*, it is impoſſible that ſuch a government could be, either in its principles or its practice, a lenient one, or that its ſubjects could be ſo eaſy and happy under that, as they are under the Britiſh power, which, inſtead of "compelling them to turn Mahommedans," hath ſhewn peculiar tenderneſs to their religious tenets, and put an end to the horrid ſeverities that were practiſed both by the Mogul Emperors and their Viceroys.

Engliſh government ſuperior.

When the Company firſt accepted the Dewanny, their ſervants could not interpoſe their influence with that effect they have ſince done; becauſe they thought it expedient, at that time, to permit

permit the office of Dewan to be executed by native miniſters, who continued the ancient practice of collecting the revenues. But even at that period, the more enlightened ſentiments of Britiſh minds had an effect on the manners of their Aſiatic delegates; and the Britiſh government hath, by degrees, infuſed a ſpirit of mildneſs and forbearance in the mode of collection, which hath, at laſt, happily exploded Mahommedan ſeverity.

No ſooner had the Council of Bengal aſſumed, openly, the office of Dewan, in the year 1772, and took the immediate control of the collections into their own hands, than they ſuppreſſed all thoſe ſevere puniſhments which had been inflicted by the Mogul government; and that dreadful inſtrument, called a Korah, by which Zemindars had been flogged to death, was, from this period, utterly baniſhed

from their Cutcherries, or courts of Exchequer. Since this time, no Zemindar hath ſuffered corporal puniſhment, and the regulations which were then framed for collecting the revenues, forbid every ſpecies of cruel treatment; ſo that by the mild meaſures which the Britiſh government hath adopted, it has eradicated the rigid ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the Mahommedans; nor does it allow any other compulſory methods of enforcing the collections, than thoſe of perſonal reſtraint, and the ſale of the lands.

In ſuch an extent of country as the Britiſh government ſuperintends, where it muſt neceſſarily delegate a conſiderable portion of authority to the natives, who are prone to arbitrary rule, it is impoſſible that ſome enormities ſhould not be committed; but no means that it has been able to deviſe, have been omitted to prevent ſuch exceſſes; nor has it ever failed

to ſhew its reſentment and deteſtation of them, whenever they have been detected. Cruelty to its ſubjects, and ſeverity in its puniſhments, form no part of the Britiſh character in Aſia, any more than in Europe; nor has the Britiſh government been guilty of either. On the contrary, it has uniformly exerted itſelf in introducing a more lenient ſyſtem of managing the revenues, and adminiſtering juſtice; and it has infuſed as much of its own mild ſpirit, in executing its ſovereignty, as is conſiſtent with the nature of the government it has to maintain, and of the people it has to govern. If ſome inſtances of tranſgreſſion are to be found, they are exceptions to the general rule of conduct preſcribed to, and practiſed by the collectors; and ſuch inſtances can never be quoted by any one who pretends to candour, as proofs of a corrupt or careleſs government; for, in the beſt governed ſtates, ſome irregulari-

Britiſh character vindicated.

ties will be committed; but it muſt be a moſt malignant and diſingenuous mind, that could think of attributing the particular offences of ſome individuals, to the general depravity of a whole community.

Wretched ſtate of the Bengal provinces, at the acquiſition of the Dewanny.

Having endeavoured to give ſome general notions of the ſtate of that part of Hindooſtan which hath come under the Britiſh government; I will now proceed to give, in a ſummary manner, a more particular account of the wretched ſituation, and miſerable confuſion into which theſe provinces were plunged, when they were granted to the Engliſh Eaſt India Company by the Mogul.

When Nadir Shah had invaded Hindooſtan, and captured Delhy, he put an end to the feeble remains of the Emperor's power in the diſtant provinces. I have ſhewn, in a former part, that the laſt

laſt regular Soubahdar, or Viceroy, of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, Surfraz Cawn, ſucceeded his father in the year 1739; and that, in the year 1742, he was killed in a pitched battle by his rebellious and ungrateful ſubject, Aly Verdy Cawn, who uſurped the power and title of Soubahdar of theſe provinces. From this period, till the year 1750, he was engaged in continual wars, both with his own diſaffected ſubjects, and the neighbouring ſtates of the Mahrattas, who invaded his dominions with immenſe armies, and ravaged and deſtroyed all the country that was ſubject to their depredations *. In the year 1756 he died, and was ſucceeded by the tyrant Surajah Dowlah; who, in the following year, brought on his own deſtruction, by the wicked and wanton cruelty he com-

Surfraz Aly Cawn killed in 1742.

Aly Verdy Cawn,

died in 1756.

* Scrofton's Hindooſtan, p. 36.

Jaffier Aly Cawn ſucceeded.

mitted on the Engliſh. Jaffier Aly Cawn, a ſoldier of fortune, who married a relation of Surajah Dowlah, and was one of his generals, was elevated to the rank of Nabob upon the death of his maſter; and his family are ſtill in poſſeſſion of the title.

State of the country at this time.

At this time the country was almoſt exhauſted, in conſequence of foreign invaſions and inteſtine commotions; and its wretched condition is thus deſcribed by an hiſtorian *, who had reſided long in the country, and was witneſs to many of the calamities he deſcribes. "When "the Governors of the provinces found "the weakneſs of the Mogul, and each "ſet up as Sovereign in his own pro-"vince, although they could not break "through theſe immutable laws, *they*

* Scrofton's Hindooſtan, p. 25.

"*invented*

" *invented new taxes under new names,*
" *which doubled or trebled the original*
" *ones*, and which the landholder was
" obliged to levy on his tenants. The
" old ſtock of wealth for ſome time ſup-
" ported this; but when that failed,
" and the tenants were ſtill preſſed for
" more, they borrowed of uſurers at an
" exorbitant intereſt; and the govern-
" ment ſtill continuing theſe demands,
" the Lords of the lands were obliged to
" do the ſame: but as all this while the
" value of the lands did not increaſe, the
" conſequence was, that, at laſt, unable to
" pay the intereſt of the mortgages, *the rents*
" *were ſeized by rapacious uſurers.* The
" government, finding the revenues fall
" ſhorter every year, at laſt *ſent collectors*
" *and farmers of the revenues into the*
" *provinces. Thus the Lord of the land*
" *was diveſted of power over his country,*
" *and the tenants expoſed to mercileſs*
" *plunderers*; till the farmer and manu-
" facturer,

" facturer, finding the more they la-
" boured, the more they paid, the ma-
" nufacturer would work no more, nor
" the farmer cultivate no more than was
" neceſſary for the bare ſubſiſtence of
" his family. *Thus this once flouriſhing*
" *and plentiful country has, in the courſe*
" *of a few years, been reduced to ſuch*
" *miſery, that many thouſands are conti-*
" *nually periſhing through want.* The
" crown lands are ſtill worſe off, let out
" to the higheſt bidder; and the jagheer
" lands, alone, remain unplundered.
" Hence that equal diſtribution of
" wealth that makes the happineſs of a
" people, and ſpreads a face of cheerful-
" neſs and plenty through all ranks, has
" now ceaſed; and the riches of the
" country are ſettled, partly in the hands
" of a few uſurers and greedy courtiers,
" *and the reſt is carried out of the country*
" *by the foreign troops taken into pay to*
" *maintain the Governors in their uſurpa-*
tions.

" *tions.* This unhappy decay, the India " Company has already experienced in " the decay of their trade, and the riſe " and price of their manufactures, and " will, I fear, experience more and more " annually."

Jaffier Aly Cawn was an excellent ſoldier, but by no means equal to the taſk of governing theſe provinces, of which he became ſo unexpectedly poſſeſſed; and, accordingly, in about the ſhort ſpace of three years, it was abſolutely neceſſary to remove him from the adminiſtration of affairs; which Governor * Vanſittart declared, " to be in ſo " confuſed and impoveriſhed a ſtate, " that, in all human appearance, another " month could not have run through " before he would have been cut off by

Jaffier Aly Cawn's inability to govern.

* Holwell's Tracts, 2d edition, p. 63.—3d edition, p. 95.

" his

" his own Seapoys from want of pay, " and the city become a ſcene of plunder " and diſorder." In this critical ſituation, the government of the country was transferred to his ſon-in-law, Meer Coſſim Aly Cawn.

Coſſim Aly Cawn ſucceeds.

Coſſim had not been long in this new ſituation, before he gave umbrage to the Engliſh government; and the majority of the Council at that time, being very hoſtile to him, a *dangerous* war broke out in the year 1763; in which, though Coſſim was worſted, and driven out of the country, he maſſacred a great number of Engliſh gentlemen, and murdered the chiefs of ſome of the moſt opulent native families of the kingdom; and, it is aſſerted, robbed the country of near five millions ſterling in jewels and ſpecie *.

War with Coſſim, 1763.

* Governor Verelſt's Letter, dated at Calcutta, 5th April, 1769.

In the following year, he prevailed on Shujah Dowlah to invade theſe diſtreſſed and diſtracted provinces, which were now reduced to a moſt deplorable ſituation, by a quick ſucceſſion of wars and revolutions; in which ancient eſtabliſhments had been overthrown, many opulent families had been diſperſed or deſtroyed, and all orders of men, as well as all ordinances of government, were diſturbed and diſregarded.

Conſequences to the country.

Such was the country, and its miſerable condition, in 1765, when Lord Clive obtained the grant of the Dewanny, which is the office of Miniſter, who ſuperintends the lands and collections. Whether his Lordſhip did not advert ſufficiently to the wretched ſtate of the country, and foreſee what care and attention it would require to recover it from its calamities; whether he was not informed

Office of Dewanny, 1765.

Lord Clive over-rates its value.

formed ſufficiently of the real value of the revenue he had obtained; or whether a too eager deſire of fame in Leadenhall-ſtreet had made him over-rate the value of this grant, I will not pretend to determine; certain it is, that he raiſed the expectations of the people in England beyond what any management of theſe provinces would enable his ſucceſſors to fulfil. In a very ſhort time after he left India, the ſeeds of thoſe evils which had been ſown long before the acquiſition of the Dewanny, ſprung up; and ſome general conſequences, that muſt have happened in the common courſe of things, were judged by the Directors at home to be the particular effects of the miſconduct of their ſervants abroad.

Cauſes of the decline of the provinces.

In conſequence of thoſe wars and invaſions, before mentioned, many rich ſtreams,

ſtreams, through which wealth flowed into Bengal, had been dried up. Raw ſilk, cloths, and other manufactures to a vaſt amount, uſed to be diſperſed as far as Guzarat, Lahore, and even Iſpahan, before the invaſion of Nadir Shah: and Mr. Verelſt has ſtated, from the Cuſtom-houſe books of Moorſhedabad, that nearly ſeventy lacks of rupees were brought into the provinces for the purchaſe of raw ſilk alone. To this importation of wealth, muſt be added full as much from all the European nations, the merchants of Buſſorah, and other places; the greateſt part of which had been put a total ſtop to, before the Engliſh government exiſted. It has been computed, that Coſſim Aly Cawn robbed the country of near five millions ſterling, in jewels and ſpecie. China, Madraſs, and Bombay were ſupplied from Bengal, to the amount of more than two millions. The King's tribute, which was remitted

to

to Dehly, and the expence of a brigade at Allahabad, which lies out of the provinces, were alſo great ſums loſt to circulation *. So that a rapid diminution of the riches of the country was the inevitable effect of theſe and other concurrent cauſes.

Internal management of the country, defective.

The internal management of the country had been extremely defective. The Zemindars, and other collectors of the revenue, being under very little check or control, acted according to their own arbitrary will in their different diſtricts; and the tenants ſuffered every ſpecies of impoſition and exaction, without means of appeal or redreſs. Coſſim Aly Cawn had the character of an able financier; but it ſhould ſeem, from one of the acts of his government, that he was a ſevere

* Governor Verelſt's Letter, dated Calcutta, 5th April, 1769.

collector.

collector, rather than a wiſe ſtateſman; and that he preferred a preſent increaſe of revenue to a permanent income. He appointed *Aumils* to the collection of the revenues. Theſe are officers of collection, who derive their authority immediately from the ruler of the country. It is true, that the Soubahdars of Bengal had formerly done the ſame thing; for they regarded the Zemindars with a jealous eye, and thought they not only oppreſſed their ryotts, or tenants, but concealed the true value of the lands, and the amount of the revenues. It was upon this principle, that Moorſhud Kuly Cawn diſpoſſeſſed the Zemindars of Bengal, and put the collections into the hands of Aumils. Mohabut Jung, and after him Jaffier Aly Cawn, did the ſame in ſeveral places; but certainly theſe officers, in the end, acquired and exerciſed an influence which proved very pernicious to the country.

Coſſim Aly Cawn's plan for collections,

deſtructive.

Lord Clive's plan for collections,

When Lord Clive obtained the grant of the Dewannee, he did not chooſe to take an oſtenſible part in the management of the collections; three native miniſters, therefore, were appointed, in the Nabob's name, to ſuperintend this department; and one Engliſh gentleman reſided at the Nabob's court, through whom this buſineſs was tranſacted, and communicated to the Council at Calcutta. Mahommed Reza Cawn was the acting and efficient Miniſter of this plan. He was a native of Perſia, and came into Hindooſtan, like others of his countrymen, to ſeek his fortune. He had been employed in the collection of the revenues by Jaffier Aly Cawn in the province of Dacca; but he was either not ſo well verſed in the knowledge of this branch of government, as to be aware of the defects of the preceding ſyſtem of Coſſim Aly Cawn; or he adopted it, becauſe it afforded him opportunities of providing for

unwiſe.

for his own family and dependants, and of eſtabliſhing his own intereſt and authority throughout the country. Be this as it may, it is certain, that in the year 1769, theſe Aumils (who were alſo moſt of them adventurers from Perſia) were loudly complained of as the authors of great oppreſſion *; and the failure of the revenue became a matter of ſerious conſideration.

Mr. Verelſt, who was then Governor, having experienced, in his own ſuperintendance of a province, the good effects of ſuch a control, and having found them in other inſtances in the Company's own lands, firſt propoſed and executed the plan of ſending Company's ſervants into the interior parts of the country, under the title of Supervifors. The gen-

Mr. Verelſt's plan for collections.

* Select Committee Conſultation, 16th Auguſt, 1769.

tlemen who were appointed to theſe important ſtations did honour to their nomination; but the evils were too deeply rooted for them to eradicate, and too widely extended for them to correct. In the year 1771, not only the diminution of the revenue, but an increaſe of expence, had greatly alarmed the Company; and they were, this year, thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, at finding their government in Bengal had drawn bills upon them to the amount of upwards of twelve hundred thouſand pounds.

Mr. Haſtings appointed Governor.

Conceiving their affairs in that kingdom to require the exertion of extraordinary talents to retrieve them, all parties joined in opinion, that Mr. Haſtings, who was then ſecond in Council at Madras, was the man in whom theſe talents were to be found: and he was, accordingly, appointed Governor of Bengal,

gal, to which ſtation he ſucceeded in April 1772.

Having brought our narrative of the ſtate of India to that period, when the Company's affairs were ſunk to their loweſt point of depreſſion; let us pauſe awhile, and take a ſhort review of the ſituation of the country, at this important criſis.

Review of the ſtate of the country.

Only ſeven years had elapſed ſince the acquiſition of the Dewanny; at which time theſe provinces were reduced, as I have before obſerved, to a wretched condition, by a quick ſucceſſion of wars and revolutions; and whatever rights might have been conceded to the native inhabitants by the more moderate Emperors, they were loſt, or confounded, in theſe diſorderly times of war and tumult. The Inſtitutions of Ackbar, which might have been obſerved whilſt he or his ſuc-

ceſſors had power to enforce them, were now no more revered, and ſcarcely remembered. The Soubahdars had, it is evident from the inſtance of Moorſhud Kuly Cawn, adopted their own plans of managing the revenues. The uſurper, Aly Verdy Cawn, had no will to conſult but his own; and, therefore, like a true deſpot, would make every one's conduct ſubſervient to that will. The tyrant Surajah Dowlah was of a violent, cruel, and capricious temper, who reſpected neither the rights of humanity nor juſtice. To him ſucceeded Jaffier Aly Cawn, who had been bred in camps, and knew nothing of civil polity or the ſcience of government. Coſſim Aly Cawn, in his ſhort reign, conſidered chiefly how he ſhould raiſe the largeſt revenue; and made his wants the only meaſure of his demands. The wars and invaſions, to which this unhappy country had been ſubject during three ſucceſſive

gover-

governments, afforded reciprocal pleas for demands and excuſes. The Nabobs demanded money to enable them to repel their enemies: the Zemindars pleaded, that the enemies had already plundered them of all their wealth. Whatever means violence could employ to exact, or art invent to elude, were mutually exerted by the deſpots and their ſlaves, for ſuch are all ſubjects in a deſpotic ſtate, and the whole *ſyſtem* of collecting the revenues was a competition of force and fraud *.

Confuſion and intricacy of the collections.

As a proof of the confuſion and intricacy which prevailed, I will quote a paragraph of a letter to the Court of Directors, from the government in Bengal, in November 1772, deſcribing the ſtate of the revenue when the Company

* See Mr. Verelſt's Inſtructions to Superviſors, and Sel. Com. Conſultation, 1769.

aſſumed the management of the Dewanny. "Every Zemindary and every "Talook was left to its own particular "cuſtoms. The articles which com-"poſed the revenue, the form of keep-"ing the accounts, the computation of "time, even the technical terms, which "ever form the greateſt part of the ob-"ſcurity of every ſcience, differed as "much as the ſoil and productions of "the province. The Nazims (Nabobs) "exacted what they could from the Ze-"mindars and great farmers of the re-"venue, whom they left at liberty to "plunder all below, reſerving to them-"ſelves the prerogative of plundering "them in their turn, when they were "ſuppoſed to have enriched themſelves "with the ſpoils of the country. The "Mutſaddies, who ſtood between the "Nazim and the Zemindars, or between "them and the people, had each their "ſhares of the public wealth. Theſe

"profits

" profits were conſidered as illegal em-
" bezzlements, and therefore were taken
" with every precaution which could
" inſure ſecrecy; and being, conſe-
" quently, fixed by no rule, depended
" on the temper, abilities, or power, of
" each individual, for the amount. It
" therefore became a duty to every man
" to take the moſt effectual meaſures to
" conceal the value of his property, and
" evade every enquiry into his conduct;
" while the Zemindars and other land-
" holders, who had the advantage of
" long poſſeſſion, availed themſelves of
" it, by complex diviſions of the lands,
" and intricate modes of collection, to
" perplex the officers of government,
" and confine the knowledge of the
" rents to themſelves. The internal ma-
" nagement of each diſtrict varied no
" leſs than that of the whole province.
" The lands ſubject to the ſame col-
" lection, and intermixed with each
" other,

" other, were ſome held by farm, ſome " ſuperintended by Shickdars, or agents " on the part of the collector, and were " left to the Zemindars, or Talookdars " themſelves, under various degrees of " control."

Company aſſume the office of Dewan.

During the ſhort time that the Company had acquired the Dewanny, little had been done towards reſtoring order and regularity in this complex and confuſed department; for, from a policy which they had judged expedient to obſerve, they did not chooſe to act openly as Dewan, but had managed this office through the agency of native miniſters, who had conducted the buſineſs according to their own plans, which had been found extremely defective. Juſt as Mr. Haſtings ſucceeded to the government, the Court of Directors had reſolved to change this ſyſtem, and aſſume openly the management of the Dewanny, without

without any foreign intervention. Happily for the country and the Company, this determination afforded the Governor an opportunity of diſplaying thoſe talents which had recommended him to their notice.

Merit of Mr. Haſtings.

The reputation of defending theſe provinces from the united attacks of powerful enemies, and of preſerving them in perfect tranquillity, amidſt the horrors of ſurrounding war, is a more brilliant, though leſs ſolid merit, than the ſuperior honour of introducing order, law, and juſtice. The effects of the one are ſplendid, immediate, and ſtriking; the others are ſober, ſlow, and quiet. Hence it has happened, that every one ſees and acknowledges the deſert of Mr. Haſtings in his preſervation of India, whilſt they are unmindful of the credit that is due to him, for thoſe ſalutary regulations which have

have procured peace, order, and protection to the people.

The rules he framed for collecting the revenues, the mode he eſtabliſhed of adminiſtering juſtice, the police he ordained for governing the country, are, with little variation, obſerved at this day; and on this foundation now reſts the eaſe and happineſs of the natives, as well as the proſperity of the Company.

Plan of collections.

As ſoon as the orders of the Company were received at Bengal for their government to enter upon the management of the Dewanny, the Governor and Council took this important ſubject into immediate conſideration: and their firſt regulations were, to render the accounts of the revenue ſimple and intelligible; to eſtabliſh fixed rules for the collections; to make the mode of them uniform

uniform in all parts of the provinces; and to provide for an equal adminiſtration of juſtice. They defined and explained the demands of the Zemindars on their tenants, and ſuppreſſed many of their oppreſſive exactions: they aboliſhed many vexatious taxes and tolls; they eſtabliſhed a new mode of collecting the cuſtoms, to the great relief of the merchants. In ſhort, though this was one of the firſt works of reformation in a new government, and a novel department, yet the plan was ſo wiſely framed, that it has been the model and guide for all future regulations.

The model of future plans.

It is utterly impoſſible, in any government, that its meaſures can be ſo judiciouſly taken as not to require alteration and amendment; or that it ſhould arrive at the degree of perfection it may be capable of, in a ſhort ſpace of time. This hath not happened to our own enlightened

lightened nation, with every advantage to aid its progreſs; much leſs can it be expected in ſuch a country as India, where ſo many obſtacles concurred to retard it. But if it be candidly conſidered, under what diſadvantages the reformation of its government was undertaken, it muſt be acknowledged, that a greater improvement can ſcarcely be exhibited in any nation, in the ſame ſpace of time.

Improvement of the country.

Government of India ought not to be compared with that of England.

The conſtitution of our own country is the ſtandard to which an Engliſhman, generally, tries that of every other ſtate; and deſigning men have often made their advantage of this honeſt prejudice. It is, however, not only unreaſonable, but abſurd, to compare the government of India with that of England; for there is no common point of compariſon, nor any thing which bears a reſemblance. The conſtitution of the one can never be adapted

adapted to the other. The religion, laws, cuſtoms, and manners of the Hindoos and Mahommedans have fixed ſuch inſuperable barriers to all aſſimilation, that they can never be overcome, if ſo wild a project ſhould ever be attempted. Since, therefore, no compariſon can be fairly drawn between ſuch diſſimilar caſes, the only candid method of judging of the ſtate of the country, and the merit of the Britiſh government, is to compare the condition of the natives under the adminiſtration of Britons, and the very beſt of the Mogul Emperors.

Parallel between Britiſh government and Mahommedan.

I will not pretend to draw either an exact or a minute parallel, but I will ſtate the manner in which it might be done, and give the ſketch of a few leading facts, which, I truſt, will ſerve to convince any candid enquirer, that the

the preference is indiſputably due to the Britiſh government.

Duties of a Sovereign.

The duties of a Sovereign to his people, have been laid down by the admirable author of the Wealth of Nations, under three different heads, which I ſhall adopt.

" *The firſt duty of a Sovereign, is* " *that of protecting the ſociety from the* " *violence and invaſion of other inde-* " *pendent ſocieties.*"

In the Mogul government it appears, from the concurring teſtimony of every hiſtorian, that this duty was very ill performed. In the prefatory hiſtory to Major Rennell's excellent Memoir, he obſerves, " Ackbar was the glory of the " houſe of Timur. Hindooſtan pro- " perly had never, at any period ſince

" the

" the firſt Mahommedan conqueſt, ex-
" perienced ſo much tranquillity as dur-
" ing the latter part of his reign: but
" this tranquillity would hardly be
" deemed ſuch in any other quarter of
" the world, and muſt therefore be un-
" derſtood to mean a ſtate ſhort of actual
" rebellion, or, at leaſt, commotion *."
Let us turn to another page of the ſame performance, and ſee the very different and ſuperior ſituation of this country under the protection of Britiſh ſovereignty. " The Bengal provinces, which
" have been in our actual poſſeſſion near
" twenty-three years, have, during that
" whole period, enjoyed a greater ſhare
" of tranquillity than any other part of
" India; or, indeed, than thoſe provinces
" had ever experienced ſince the days
" of Aurungzebe." They have alſo been

* Page 59.

bleſſed with an uncommon ſhare of *internal tranquillity*, from the ſingular and felicitous circumſtance of a banditti, who inhabited the hills of Rajemahl, and infeſted all travellers, having been civilized and brought to peaceable ſubjection within theſe few years; and likewiſe from the ſuppreſſion of an itinerant ſet of thieves, called Syniaſſes, who are religious mendicants, and uſed to commit the greateſt enormities.

" *The ſecond duty of a Sovereign is* " *that of protecting, as far as poſſible,* " *every member of the ſociety from the* " *injuſtice or oppreſſion of every other mem-* " *ber of it, or the duty of an exact admi-* " *niſtration of juſtice.*"

Defects of Mahommedan adminiſtration of juſtice.

In deſpotic ſtates there is no law. The judge himſelf, ſays Preſident Monteſquieu, is his own rule; conſequently, the performance of this important duty

of a Sovereign muſt have been greatly neglected by the Mahommedan deſpots: and what aggravated the defects, which are common to all deſpotic ſtates, was, the particular tenets of the conquered people. The Hindoos are liable to the peculiar puniſhment of forfeiting their caſt, or being excommunicated; and as this forfeiture may be incurred from a variety of cauſes, their Mahommedan rulers made it a lucrative ſource of oppreſſion. Unhappily for the Hindoos, ſuperſtition combined with avarice to invent the means of inflicting this dreaded chaſtiſement; and fines, without mercy, were exacted by theſe venal judges. "It is difficult," ſays Governor Verelſt, in his Inſtructions to the Superviſors, "to determine, whether the "original cuſtoms or the degenerate "manners of the Muſſulmen have moſt "contributed to confound the principles "of right and wrong in theſe provinces.

" Certain it is, that almoſt every deci-
" ſion of theirs is a corrupt bargain
" with the higheſt bidder *." Commutation, even for capital crimes, was frequently permitted; and the numerous offences compromiſed by fines, were an intolerable grievance. To ſuch a wretched ſtate was the adminiſtration of juſtice reduced, that the people, ſo far from ſuppoſing juſtice due from the magiſtrate, allowed one quarter [chout] of the property in diſpute, to the judge, as a reward for his trouble.

Superiority of Britiſh government.

Since the more immediate introduction of the Britiſh government, theſe abuſes and oppreſſions have been entirely aboliſhed. Both the Hindoos and Mahommedans are left in the free exerciſe and enjoyment of their religion, laws, cuſtoms,

* Sel. Com. 16th Aug. 1769.

and

and manners. The Hindoos, particularly, bleſs the mildneſs of Britiſh toleration as much as they execrate Mahommedan ſuperſtition. According to the plan formed in the year 1772, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, the proceedings of the courts, civil and criminal, are entered on record; the firſt is under the ſuperintendance of Engliſh gentlemen, who have a diſtinct authority, and are rewarded with ſalaries, to put them above the temptation of any means which would be derogatory to their honour. From their judgment there is an appeal to the Superior Court at Calcutta; and the whole ſyſtem is conducted with a degree of mildneſs, order, and regularity, unknown to the natives in any period of Mahommedan government.

" *The third and laſt duty of the So-*
" *vereign, are ſuch inſtitutions as faci-*

 " *litate*

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" *litate the commerce of the ſociety, and*
" *promote the inſtruction of the people.*"

Impediments to commerce

In the Mahommedan government, the internal commerce of the country was impeded by every clog which avaricious power could invent to obſtruct it; the number and variety of the impoſts collected at the *Gauts* *, *Chokies* †, and *Hauts* ‡, afford abundant proof of this. In regard to the inſtruction of the people, ſome care had been taken by the Emperors, when their ſovereignty prevailed in its complete force. They inſtituted ſeminaries for the inſtruction of youth, called Madriſſas, in all the capital cities. But theſe had been totally neglected for many years; the buildings

* Landing-places.

† Watch-houſes, and places on the rivers and different parts of the country.

‡ Markets.

had

had fallen into ruin, and their endowments were reſumed by government.

Amongſt other ſalutary regulations formed in the year 1772, were thoſe which aboliſhed many of theſe taxes on commerce; and the plan was then laid, which has ſince been effected, for taking off all the fetters that had, heretofore, ſhackled the trade of the country. It is owing to the ſame foſtering care, that the ancient eſtabliſhment of Mahommedan ſchools has been renewed, of which there did not remain a veſtige in all Hindooſtan when that at Calcutta was lately built; ſo that this inſtitution might be conſidered almoſt as a new one, or, at leaſt, it teſtified a regard for this part of the duty of a Sovereign, which had not been attended to for a long period before. removed.

Comparison of the Britiſh and Mahommedan governments.

In conſidering the difference between the Mahommedan and the Britiſh government of Hindooſtan, it muſt be always remembered, that both theſe rulers were foreigners with reſpect to the Hindoos, the indigenous people; each differing from their ſubjects, in laws, religion, language, and manners; and the queſtion that then ariſes is, Under which of theſe foreign rulers have the native inhabitants been moſt happy, and beſt protected? From what I have already ſet forth in the courſe of this work, I am willing to flatter myſelf, that I have anticipated the anſwer to this queſtion in favour of the Britiſh government.

It hath, however, been hitherto induſtriouſly propagated, by thoſe men who had a view to anſwer by it (and they have been too ſucceſsful in their endeavours), that the provinces in India,

of

of which the Company are now poſſeſſed, were inhabited by a mild, induſtrious people, who were governed by their *own native Sovereigns;* and that theſe Princes had framed ſuch wiſe laws, and eſtabliſhed ſuch uſeful regulations, that their ſubjects were eaſy, happy, and ſecure, under this judicious adminiſtration; that the ſervants of the Eaſt India Company broke into this peaceful ſtate, deſtroyed this fair fabric, and threw every thing into confuſion, from the worſt motives, and with the vileſt purpoſes.

How very unjuſt, and utterly untrue this repreſentation is, I hope I have made ſufficiently clear, by ſhewing that the Mogul Emperors were foreigners, who invaded and conquered Hindooſtan, and who ruled it with a cruel and deſpotic ſway; that *their own rebellious ſubjects* firſt uſurped the government of the

the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and then occaſioned that anarchy and oppreſſion which prevailed in them at the time they were granted to the Company.

But let the compariſon be made between the ſituation of the Hindoo inhabitants under the Mahommedan government, at any period of its exiſtence, and their condition now, under the Britiſh dominion; and I aſſert with confidence, that they are more happy, better protected, and more ſecure under the latter, than they were under the former adminiſtration.

As both the governments are foreign ones, and both differ widely from that of their Hindoo ſubjects, ſome prejudicial effects muſt ariſe from this common cauſe, which are incident to both. There is not, in general, ſo tender a bond

bond of union between an alien Sovereign and his ſubjects, as there is between a Prince and his people, who are natives of the ſame country, and are united by the ſame religion, laws, and cuſtoms. A partiality for thoſe who are educated in the ſame ſentiments, profeſs the ſame faith, and obſerve the ſame laws, is unavoidable; and the moſt equitable Sovereign cannot diveſt himſelf of it. But the Mahommedans ſuffered this partiality to influence their conduct, much more than the Britiſh government hath ever done; and they treated their Hindoo ſubjects with a degree of rigour, both in civil and religious concerns, from which they have been happily relieved by their Britiſh rulers.

Another common evil which reſults to the ſubjects from a foreign Sovereign, is, when he reſides in a foreign capital. This naturally draws a portion of the wealth

wealth from the diſtant provinces, and drains it, in a degree, of its circulating caſh. The Mogul Emperors reſided at Dehly, which was a foreign capital, in reſpect to the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; and the greateſt part of the treaſure, which was remitted thither, was ſo much ſpecie loſt to the currency of theſe provinces. The Emperor's tribute, or portion of the revenues remitted to the royal treaſury, amounted, in Aurungzebe's time, to more than three millions ſterling, a conſiderable part of which was ſpecie *; and ſince that period it was fixed at one million two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds †. To this may be added, the ſums of money which the commanders of the mercenary troops, who were all foreigners, carried out of the provinces when they returned from

* Tavernier.

† Narrative of Tranſactions in Bengal, tranſlated by Gladwin, p. 81.

them,

them, and the aggregate will amount to a greater quantity of ſpecie than the Engliſh Company or their ſervants exported, even when they ſupplied China, and the ſettlements of Madras and Bombay, if the laſt war be excepted. I purpoſely exclude the annual exportation of goods which the Company provide for their European markets, becauſe this proviſion only prevents the importation of a certain quantity of ſpecie; and becauſe it returns a ſurplus amount of revenue into circulation, which would otherwiſe have been locked up in the treaſury, or ſent out of the provinces, as it had been to Dehly.

Theſe are general effects, proceeding from a common cauſe; and even from theſe, the intereſt of the native inhabitants is not ſo much injured by the Britiſh, as by the Mahommedan government.

I will

Superior advantages of Britiſh government.

I will now proceed to ſhew the inſtances in which the ſuperior advantages of the Britiſh over the Mahommedan government are manifeſt.

The intolerant ſpirit of the Mahommedan religion inſpired its votaries with an antipathy to all others, and particularly to that of idolatry, with which they always reproached the Hindoos. The firſt Mahommedan invaders diſplayed this ſpirit ſtrongly, in their zeal to deſtroy the Hindoo temples; and a great portion of it was infuſed into the civil ordinances of the latter Emperors. Until the reign of *Ackbar*, a capitation* tax was laid upon the Hindoos, which he, indeed, aboliſhed; but, to the laſt period of the regular Mogul government, an odious diſtinction was made

* Inſtitutes of Ackbar. Gladwin's tranſlation, p. 359. vol. i.

between

betwen the Muſſulman and Hindoo, in the rate of cuſtoms and other taxes; the former being charged with only two and an half per cent. whilſt double that ſum was demanded of the latter. The Britiſh government hath, with a becoming liberality, aboliſhed this law, and relieved the Hindoos from this oppreſſive inequality.

The enthuſiaſtic zeal of a Muſſulman, which creates in him a diſguſt to every other religion, begets alſo a contempt for their mode of worſhip: the Hindoos, therefore, did not meet with near ſo much tenderneſs for their religious rites and opinions from their Mahommedan as from their Britiſh Sovereigns. The former often made theſe opinions an engine of oppreſſion, whilſt the latter hath indulged them with peculiar care; and, in order to favour their civil as well as religious liberties, the Britiſh govern-

ment

ment had a tranſlation of the Gentoo code of laws made into the Engliſh language, for the guidance of the officers in the ſeveral courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed throughout the country.

In the reign of Ackbar, an order of nobles * was created by the title of Munſubdars, or Commanders, and their rank was adjuſted according to their munſub, which had a regular gradation from ten to ten thouſand; but only the king's ſons had munſubs of five thouſand and upwards. To theſe munſubs were affixed pecuniary allowances, which were granted by the Emperor; thoſe of the higheſt order amounted to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds ſterling, and thoſe of the loweſt were not quite a hundred pounds a year.

* Inſtitutes of Ackbar, vol. i. p. 242.

The

The manner in which theſe allowances were paid, was by granting aſſignments on the lands in different provinces; and in the reign of Aurungzebe the greateſt part of Bengal was thus appropriated*. The Munſubdars were ſent into the provinces in which their aſſignments were granted, and made their own collections. As theſe military nobles were a haughty, voluptuous ſet of men, who came from a foreign country to collect their own pay from a timid people, whom they both diſliked and deſpiſed, it is evident, that the ſtate of that people muſt have been wretched, from the multiplied ſpecies of oppreſſion to which they were liable; not only from theſe military deſpots, but from every retainer that belonged to them, who derived a conſequence, and exerciſed an inſolence, in

* Narrative of Tranſactions in Bengal, p. 28.

proportion to the dignity of his commander.

The native inhabitants have not been, merely, freed from this ſpecies of oppreſſion under the Britiſh government; but they have been benefited by the ſuperior excellence of the plan on which the military eſtabliſhment of the Company is formed. Their troops are divided into three brigades, which are ſtationed in cantonments, near the three principal cities of Calcutta, Moorſheda-bad, and Patna, from which they never depart but on military ſervice; and their officers are not more remarkable for the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline, than for the regularity of their conduct. They are paid every month from the Company's treaſury, and neither wiſh nor want to interfere with any other department; but demean themſelves like good citizens, and, by ſpending their pay for the

the neceſſaries of life, contribute to the encouragement of that productive labour, by which the people are beſt employed, and the country moſt enriched.

Under the Mahommedan government, many feudal inſtitutions were eſtabliſhed, which were all vexatious in a certain degree. Amongſt theſe, the oppreſſion of purveyance was a grievous one; for the Zemindars were not only obliged to furniſh proviſions, and procure men as carriers of all burdens, when the Prince, or any of his houſehold, or officers of any kind, paſſed through the country, as was formerly done in Europe; but, by a refinement of Aſiatic deſpotiſm, they were obliged to provide both men and proviſions, without being paid for either. And whether it was the ſeaſon of ſowing, or the ſeaſon of harveſt, the huſbandman was alike compelled to quit

his field for the ſervice of his unfeeling ſuperior.

This, and many other arbitrary and oppreſſive cuſtoms, originating from a pure deſpotiſm, have been aboliſhed by the Britiſh government; till it may now be affirmed, on the concurrent teſtimonies of the laſt Governor-General, Sir John M'Pherſon, and the preſent one, Lord Cornwallis, that 'the inhabitants of the provinces, under the Britiſh government, are the happieſt and moſt contented people on the extenſive continent of Hindooſtan and Decan.

Unjuſt repreſentation of the Britiſh government.

The unjuſt notion of the ſeverity of the Britiſh government hath been ſo generally diffuſed, and ſo confidently aſſerted, that the opinion has been entertained without either aſking for proofs, or examining the validity of its teſtimony. Perhaps this is not to be wondered

dered at, when we conſider the diſtance of the country, and the difficulty of judging on facts, of which we have ſo imperfect a knowledge. But it is a matter of no leſs regret than aſtoniſhment, to obſerve with what facility the moſt abſurd propoſitions, and the moſt incongruous arguments are received, when they tend to depreciate the Britiſh character, and exalt the Indian fame.

Falſe notions of the Mahommedan government.

The excellency of the Mogul government, and its great ſuperiority over the Britiſh, have been the theme of all our orators. They have drawn an imaginary picture of India, and "painted it in ſuch "glowing colours as would almoſt tempt "one to place the ſuggeſtions of fancy "amidſt the materials of hiſtory*;"

* Verelſt on the Engliſh Government in Bengal.

and ſuch have been the faſcinating charms of this beautiful portrait, that they ſeem to have ſuſpended the powers of memory and judgment, and made men forget the hiſtory of the conquerors, and the depravity of their characters. A more deteſtable or deteſted race of people never appeared than the Mahommedan conquerors of India; whether we conſider the brutality of their paſſions, the bigotry of their religion, the corruption of their manners, the barbarity of their education, or the tyranny of their government: In all theſe reſpects, they were the terror and abhorrence of the Hindoos, whoſe country they invaded, and whoſe dominion they uſurped.

Character of Mahommedans.

The fanatic ignorance of the ſavage caliph, which dictated his barbarous reaſon for deſtroying the Alexandrian library,

Their ignorance and barbarity.

brary *, had neither been tutored nor refined by the Tartar education of Timur and his predeceſſors. The ſame ſuperſtitious bigotry which incited the Arabian caliphs to deſtroy the monuments of Weſtern learning, likewiſe impelled the Tartar Cawns to overthrow the religious temples of Eaſtern worſhip. At the commencement of the eleventh century, Mahmood † entered Hindooſton, and, in the courſe of twelve expeditions, he deſtroyed the famous temples of Nagracut, Tannaſar, Matra, and Sumnaut. In the latter end of the next century, Mahmood Gori penetrated as far as the city of Benaris, and committed the ſame outrage as Mahmood had done before at

* "If theſe writings of the Greeks agree with "the Book of God, they are uſeleſs: if they diſa-"gree, they are pernicious, and ought to be de-"ſtroyed."

† Major Rennell's Memoir, p. 45, 46.

Nagracut and Sumnaut *. Tamerlane poſſeſſed as much of this furious zeal as any of his ſavage predeceſſors; and if the enthuſiaſm of this deſtructive religion had not occaſionally abated amongſt ſome of his ſucceſſors, they would ſcarcely have left a Hindoo temple or prieſt in the country they ſubdued.

Hated by the Hindoos.

Enough, however, had been done to fix an indelible ſtain on the memory of theſe intolerant tyrants, and to make a laſting impreſſion on the minds of the Hindoos, who, to the lateſt period of the Mogul government, were kept in conſtant dread of doctrines, which, to their apprehenſions, ſeemed to inſpire the Mahommedans with ſacrilegious cruelty. Idolatry is as great an abomination

* Major Rennell's Memoir, p. 47.

to a Muſſulman, as it was to the Jews, when they moſt ſtrictly revered the divine command which prohibits it; and moſt of the Hindoo ceremonies being conſidered by the Mahommedans as acts of idolatry, and all their pagodas as temples of idols, a religious principle excited mutual ſentiments of abhorrence and antipathy between the conquerors and their ſubjects. The reſt of the character of the Mahommedans may be ſummed up in the conciſe and emphatic words of Mr. Scrafton, who ſays, "their diſ-" tinguiſhing qualities are perfidy and " ſenſuality *."

Character of Mahommedan and Britiſh rulers contraſted.

But notwithſtanding theſe facts, and that the hiſtory of their government is a diſguſting repetition of oppreſſion, maſſacres, and rebellion, yet the faſhion

* Letter i. p. 18.

of

of the times has been to praiſe it, and to repreſent the ſituation of the Hindoos eaſy and happy under it, till they were diſturbed in this peaceful ſtate of repoſe and ſecurity by the Engliſh, who have been deſcribed, [with unparalleled injuſtice,] as a ſet of rapacious taſk-maſters. It ſurely requires a very ſmall degree of reflection to perceive, that ſuch repreſentations of the two governments muſt, from the very nature of things, be falſe.

The Mahommedan conquerors came into Hindooſtan from a barbarous region, with minds and manners as uncultivated as the wilds from which they iſſued. The only notion they had of government, was abſolute power in the Sovereign, and abject ſubmiſſion in the ſubject. The tenets of their religion, ſo far from ſoftening the ferocity of their nature, ſerved only

only to whet the edge of their perſecution towards the ſuffering Hindoos, whom they haraſſed without mercy, and deſtroyed without remorſe. The Britiſh conquerors came from a country famed for arts and ſciences; the generous principles of public liberty had been inſtilled into their minds from their earlieſt infancy; the mild tenets of Chriſtianity cheriſhed and commanded every charitable duty; and they had been taught, by precept and example, to rule with equity, and to obey with freedom. Can it be ſuppoſed, that under theſe circumſtances, the two nations ſhould have totally changed characters on their coming into India? That the barbarous and ferocious Tartar ſhould become mild and enlightened; that the cultivated and generous Briton ſhould have degenerated into a cruel tyrant; and that the Britiſh Governors ſhould have rendered the ſituation of their Hindoo ſubjects worſe

than

than it was under the Mogul Emperors? Reaſon revolts at the idea, and nothing but the rankeſt prejudice could either ſuggeſt or adopt it.

FINIS.

HIS MAJESTY,

AND

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

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THE

TRIAL

OF

Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin,

(DUBASH TO

JOHN HOLLOND, Esq;

Late GOVERNOR of Fort Saint George,

AND TO HIS BROTHER

E. JOHN HOLLOND, Esq;

Late Member of the Council thereof);

OF

Avadaunum Ramah Saumy, Bramin,

Brother to PAUPIAH;

Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and *Appeyingar Bramin;*

For a CONSPIRACY againſt

DAVID HALIBURTON, ESQUIRE,

A Senior Merchant in the Service of the Eaſt India Company, under the Preſidency of Fort Saint George.

By force of which CONSPIRACY he was removed, in September 1789, during the Adminiſtration of Meſſrs. HOLLONDS, from his Stations of Member of the Board of Revenue, and Perſian Tranſlator.

Of which CONSPIRACY they were all convicted at the Quarter Seſſions held at Fort Saint George, the 11th, 12th, and 13th Days of July 1792, after a Trial which laſted above Twenty-ſeven Hours.

TO THE TRIAL IS PREFIXED

An ADDRESS to the Public by Mr. HALIBURTON, detailing all the Particulars which led to the Conſpiracy; as alſo the ſubſequent Proceedings and Correſpondence with Government, to the Time an Enquiry was ſet on Foot, which traced this Conſpiracy to its Source, and enabled Mr. HALIBURTON to proſecute the Conſpirators to Conviction.

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M,DCC,XCIII.

TO THE PUBLIC.

IF the annexed Trial had barely related to the conſpiracy againſt my character, I ſhould have been ſatisfied with the verdict, which, in convicting the culprits, manifeſted the injuſtice and malignity of my perſecutors; nor ſhould I have thought a relation of the ſufferings of an individual of ſufficient import to occupy the public time, unleſs (as in the preſent caſe) the detail of thoſe ſufferings led not only to the expoſition of the characters which occaſioned them, but to a knowledge of the unprincipled audacity of the natives of India, when under the patronage of men in power, and tend to guard all perſons who may hereafter hold high and reſponſible ſituations under the honourable company, againſt the wily wickedneſs of dubaſhes, who have heretofore had too conſiderable an influence over men in ſtation at this preſidency.

To have traced ſo complicated and ſubtle a conſpiracy to its ſource, at a diſtance of two years and an half after its purpoſes had been effected, ſhewed an almoſt providential interpoſition in my favour; ſtill more ſo, as the inſtruments thereof were natives of low and obſcure ſituations, without any reſidence in Madras, and one of them ſkreened by a variety of names uſed for the purpoſe of eluding diſcovery.

To give the reader an adequate idea of the plot, I ſhall ſtate the following explanatory circumſtances.

IT has for many years been uſual to grant to ſome principal native the monopoly of beetle and tobacco (articles of neceſſary conſumption to the natives of all deſcriptions) on paying a certain rent to the government of Fort St. George. The cowle, or leaſe, by the wording thereof gave in this inſtance this excluſive privilege to a diſtance of ten miles from Madras, but by cuſtom it had not been put in force beyond four or five miles from the preſidency, except in the

direction which leads to the great mount about nine miles from Madras, and the fixed ſituation of the principal artillery cantonment in time of peace.

It happened, however, that in June 1789, when Mr. John Hollond was governor of Fort Saint George, and Mr. Edward John Hollond, his brother, third member of council, that the renter was induced to claim his full privilege, according to the literal wording of his cowle.

This application being made to government, the council referred it to the board of revenue, conſiſting at that time of Mr. Edward Saunders, myſelf, and Mr. George Moubray, who anſwered this reference of the renter's application in the following terms:

'Soon after the receipt of your letter, we called 'the beetle renter before us, and deſired him to explain 'the particular points in which he wiſhed for redreſs; for to 'that time he had never made it known to us that he met 'with any obſtacles in carrying on the management of his 'farm, as ſtated in his petition to your honourable board.— 'We muſt, therefore, ſubmit to you the irregularity of ſuch 'a proceeding in him, in not applying to us in the firſt inſtance, and now ſtate the obſervations which occur to us 'on his petition.

'The cowle for the excluſive ſale of beetle and tobacco, 'which authorizes the renter to ſell theſe articles in all 'places as far diſtant as ten miles round Madras, was drawn 'out exactly in the ſame form with that granted to the 'former renter in the government of Lord Macartney. It 'is, however, admitted as a fact, that this renter, whoſe 'leaſe expired in 1787, never extended the ſale of thoſe 'articles to the diſtance mentioned in the cowle, but confined it to the ſame limits which have been eſtabliſhed as 'we underſtand for a period of thirty-two years paſt—(that 'is) to within four or five miles of Madras, excepting on 'one ſide as far as the great mount. The preſent renter has 'alſo acknowledged to us, that he had not availed himſelf 'hitherto of the letter of his cowle, and that his reaſon for 'doing ſo now was in conſequence of the increaſe of his 'rent; which reaſon, however, might have been equally 'adduced by the former renter, whoſe rent alſo increaſed 'yearly. From this it may fairly be preſumed, that whatever right he now aſſerts to poſſeſs in virtue of his cowle,

'his preſent claim for the extenſion of the limits is an 'innovation, not warranted by any former practice of 'his own, or any former renter, and is on that ground, 'perhaps, inadmiſſible. As a proof of the bad conſe-'quences it is likely to be attended with, we have only to 'refer your honour to the encloſed petition from the inhabi-'tants of ſome villages, ſituated within the preſent extended 'limits, who came to us in a body, and with one voice 'repreſented that they were in a ſtate of extreme poverty; 'that they had a number of Parriar dependents, whom 'they are obliged to ſupport for the purpoſe of cultivation; 'and that if the beetle renter's cowle was to extend to 'their places of reſidence, the price of that neceſſary article 'of life would be found to be triple what it now coſts them; 'and that in ſuch caſe they could neither maintain them-'ſelves, nor their cultivators.

'The renter, on the other hand, pleads the right which 'his cowle gives him, and has informed us, that by ex-'tending his limits beyond what has been uſual, he expected 'to increaſe his receipts to 5000 pagodas yearly. This we 'have reaſon to think is conſiderably over-rated; but con-'vinced as we are that the innovation (for in no other 'light can we conſider it) is injurious, and in a great 'degree oppreſſive to the inhabitants reſiding without the 'ancient limits, we do not heſitate to ſubmit to your 'honour the propriety of confining the renter to the ſale 'of his beetle, as has been practiſed hitherto; and if your 'honour ſhould, after due conſideration of the above cir-'cumſtances, think him entitled to ſuch a remiſſion of 'rent on that account, it is our opinion that it would be 'better to allow it to him, than to continue the cauſe of 'complaint.

Fort St. George,
18th June 1789.

EDW. SAUNDERS.
DAVID HALIBURTON.
GEO. MOUBRAY.'

The board of revenue were told, in anſwer to this, 'That 'the renter was to be allowed the extenſion of the limits 'he had applied for;' in conſequence of which orders were iſſued to that effect.

Many inhabitants reſiſted and threw obſtacles in the way to prevent the execution of theſe orders; but ſome of them being afterwards taken, were confined by order of govern-

ment. The matter was not however agitated again before the ſuperior board till the 15th of September following, when two men, whoſe ſignature does not appear in the petition given to the board of revenue in June, came before government with a complaint, which was framed into an accuſation, and made the oſtenſible cauſe of my removal from the board of revenue, and office of Perſian tranſlator, as appears by the trial.

Meſſrs. John Hollond and Edward John Hollond, compoſing the majority of the government at that time, not content with removing me from thoſe reſponſible ſtations, followed up their perſecution, by combining their diſmiſſion therefrom with an appointment to the pay-maſterſhip of a frontier garriſon, in a hilly and unwholeſome country, at the eve of the monſoon, garriſoned by two European officers, two invalid ſerjeants, and ſixty-eight ſepoys; an appointment not only new in itſelf, but, which it is fair to ſay, would have been conſidered by the youngeſt writer in the ſervice more as a baniſhment from ſociety, than as a mark of attention.

Notwithſtanding, however, the glaring injuſtice of this meaſure, I conſoled myſelf under the oppreſſion, from the conſciouſneſs of my innocence; and in order to prevent any advantage being taken, I made no heſitation in immediately declaring my ſubmiſſion to the orders of government, as will appear from the following letter:

'To the Honourable JOHN HOLLOND, Eſq.
'Governor in Council.

'Honourable Sir,

'I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of 'Mr. Secretary White's letter, dated the 30th ultimo, 'informing me, that you have been pleaſed to appoint me 'pay-maſter of Chunderghurry, by which my offices of 'Perſian tranſlator, and member of the board of revenue, 'are vacated.

'Knowing it to be my duty, in the firſt inſtance, to 'ſubmit to the orders of government, I ſhall in obedience 'thereto proceed to Chunderghurry, and take charge of 'the employ of pay-maſter there; but after having reſided 'at the preſidency for near twenty years, it may be ſuppoſed 'that I have many concerns, relating to myſelf and other 'perſons, which require to be arranged previous to my de-

'parture—

'parture—I have therefore to requeſt your honourable 'board's permiſſion to remain here for a time ſufficient to 'ſettle ſuch concerns.

'Removed, as I find myſelf, from offices of great truſt 'and emolument, without any charge being ſent to me, 'agreeable to the company's ſtanding orders, under date 'the 13th of April 1774, I hope I may be permitted to 'requeſt to be furniſhed with a copy of what may appear 'on your proceedings reſpecting me, as I cannot ſuppoſe 'that the petition of Cundapah and Saumy (the purport of 'which was ſaid to be conveyed to me in your ſecretary's 'letter of the 24th ultimo) can be deemed a charge.

'I am with reſpect,
'Honourable Sir,
'Your moſt obedient Servant,
'DAVID HALIBURTON.'

Madras,
1ſt Oct. 1789.

A partial extract of the proceedings was ſent to me, but no immediate anſwer was given to that part of my letter, which aſked for leave to remain at the preſidency to ſettle my affairs; and of courſe I remained till I received the following letter on the 14th November.

'To Mr. DAVID HALIBURTON,
'Paymaſter at Chunderghurry.

'Sir,

'I am directed by the honourable the preſident in coun-'cil, to deſire you will immediately repair to your ſtation 'at Chunderghurry, and take charge of your employ, as 'ſpecified in the letter to you from the ſecretary to the 'public department, under date the 30th September 'laſt.

'I am, Sir,
'Your moſt obedient Servant,
'JOHN CHAMIER,
Secry.'

Fort St. George,
13th November 1789,

This letter, under all the circumſtances of my caſe, I conſidered as approximating to a 'lettre de cachet;' but the rains having ſet in for above three days, and there being every appearance of a ſevere monſoon (and ſo in fact it proved) I addreſſed government as follows:

'To the Honourable JOHN HOLLOND, Esq.
'Governor in Council.

'Honourable Sir,

'I was honoured yesterday evening with the receipt of Mr. Secretary Chamier's letter, dated the 13th instant, communicating to me your commands, that I should immediately repair to my station at Chunderghurry.

'In the various stations wherein I have served the honourable company, I trust no neglect has ever been found on my part, in discharging the duties of them; it was solely with a view to arrange my affairs before my departure from the presidency, that I solicited your honourable board's indulgence; but at the same time have taken every necessary step to prevent the public service being in any respect impeded by my absence from the garrison of Chunderghurry, consisting of one company of sepoys, under the command of captain Massey, which has been as regularly paid, and the accounts kept, under my directions, as if I had been on the spot.

'It was nevertheless my intention to have proceeded thither before this time, had I not been informed by captain Massey, that there were no quarters at Chunderghurry, but what were occupied by himself and the subaltern officer with him; nor could I (he adds) be suited with any, unless they were built from the ground.

'This circumstance, added to the impossibility of my remaining in tents at this inclement season of the year, more particularly as Chunderghurry is known to be at all times a very unhealthy place, but more so during the rains, besides the circumstance of there not being a surgeon stationed there, will I doubt not operate sufficiently with your honourable board, to allow me to remain at the presidency until the middle of next month, when the weather will be sufficiently settled to admit of my residing in a tent: but if it be still your honourable board's determination that I should, under all the foregoing circumstances, proceed to Chunderghurry immediately, I request you will honor me with your commands, that I may lose no time in obeying them, it being at all times my wish

'to

'to preſerve the duty and obedience I owe to my ſu-
'periors.

'I have the honour to be,
'Honourable Sir,
'Your moſt obedient Servant,
'DAVID HALIBURTON.'

I waited till the next day in hopes of an anſwer, but having received information from a native in the confidence of Paupiah, that the preceding letter to government was to be made the pretence of ſuſpending me from the ſervice, on the next council day, on a charge of diſobedience of orders, I loſt no time in ſetting off for my ſtation at Chunderghurry, having previouſly addreſſed the following letter to the military ſecretary:

"To Mr. Secretary CHAMIER.

'Sir,

'I had the honour to addreſs the honourable board a 'letter yeſterday, to which I have as yet received no anſwer; 'and being anxious to prevent any idea of a want of atten- 'tion to their commands, you will be pleaſed to inform the 'honourable board, that notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the 'weather, I propoſe to ſet off this morning at 8 o'clock 'for my ſtation at Chunderghurry, by way of Trepaſ- 'ſore, where I expect to arrive this evening.

'I am, Sir,
'Your moſt obedient Servant,
'DAVID HALIBURTON.'

Choultry Plain,
16th November 1789.

On the 28th November I arrived at my ſtation, and diſpatched the next day the following letter to the governor in council:

'To the Honourable JOHN HOLLOND, Eſq.
'Governor in Council.

'Honourable Sir,

'I have the honour to inform you, that in purſuance 'to your commands I arrived at this my ſtation yeſterday, 'a ſevere cold having detained me at Trepaſſore for ſome 'days, by the advice of Mr. Horſeman, ſurgeon to the '71ſt regiment.

'Captain Maſſey, the commanding officer here, to 'whom I applied for quarters on my arrival, informs me 'there are none for me, neither are there any tents in

' ſtore; and if there were, the rains and dews at this ſeaſon ' of the year would not permit me to live in them, in this ' hilly country, without endangering my health. Captain ' Maſſey has been ſo very good as to let me partake, for ' the preſent, of the ſcanty accommodations he has himſelf ' here; but as I cannot allow myſelf to treſpaſs for any ' time on his hoſpitality, I hope your honour will give what ' orders you may think neceſſary for my accommodation, ' ſuitable to my rank in the ſervice.

' I have the honour to be,
Chunderghurry, ' Honourable Sir,
29th November 1789. ' Your moſt obedient Servant,
' DAVID HALIBURTON.'

Captain Maſſey addreſſed government, in conſequence of my application to him for quarters.

The following is an extract of his letter, dated 1ſt December 1789.

' I have the honour to acquaint you that Mr. David Ha- ' liburton arrived here on the 28th ultimo, as pay-maſter ' to this garriſon; he has applied to me for quarters, but ' there not being any undiſpoſed, I can only accommo- ' date him, however indifferently, with part of my own, and ' refer him to your honourable board.'

In anſwer to my letter, of the 29th November, to government, I received the following letter from the ſecretary.

' To Mr. DAVID HALIBURTON,
' Paymaſter at Chunderghurry.

' Sir,

' In reply to your letter of the 29th ultimo, I am ' directed by the board to inform you, that they have de- ' ſired captain Maſſey to procure ſome ſuitable building at ' Chunderghurry, which may be fitted up and appropriated ' to your uſe; in the mean time you have the permiſſion of ' the board to abſent yourſelf as far as Arcot, when the ' duties of your office will diſpenſe with your attendance at ' your ſtation.

' I am,
' Sir,
' Your moſt obedient ſervant,
' *Fort St. George,* ' JOHN CHAMIER,
' 4th December 1789. ' Secry.'

In

In conſequence of the above I left Chunderghurry, and arrived at Arcot the 13th December. Captain Maſſey addreſſed a letter on the 11th December to government, in anſwer to their orders to provide quarters for me, whereof the following is an extract.

'In reply to my letter of the 1ſt inſtant, I yeſterday had 'the honour to receive your commands, by a letter from 'Mr. Secretary Chamier, deſiring that I would endeavour 'to provide ſome ſuitable building here, in the fort or pelta, 'which may be fitted up for the paymaſter, and report to 'the board the ſteps I take to that effect, and tranſmit an 'eſtimate of the conſequent expences; in compliance there-'with I have the honour to acquaint you, ſir, that there is 'not a building in the pelta fit for the purpoſe. In the firſt 'are only a very ancient and crazy Hindoo palace, of which 'the habitable parts are occupied as quarters and barracks 'for myſelf and troops, and a round walled building erected 'by Abdus Wahub Cawn about fifteen years ago, which 'having been appropriated to the purpoſe of a ſtable, 'I have, by frequent repairs at my own expence, hitherto 'kept from falling into entire ruin; but the late rains, 'which have been extremely ſevere here, have rendered it 'unſafe even as a ſtable, particularly ſhould any more rain 'fall. This laſt building is the only repairable building 'here; and I am ready, at your command, ſir, to provide 'myſelf otherwiſe with a ſtable, and deliver it up, but do 'not think it can be ſuitable to the required purpoſe with-'out an expence nearly equal to building from the ground; 'of this, however, I do not think myſelf competent poſi-'tively to judge, and there is no artificer of any ſort in the 'neighbourhood whoſe opinion might aſſiſt me. Materials 'for building may be procured here without much difficulty, 'but artificers muſt be had from Vellore or Arcot (70 miles 'diſtant). I wait your further determination, and, as is 'my duty, ſhall ſtrictly adhere thereto with the utmoſt 'care, that the leaſt poſſible expence to the honourable 'company may be incurred in the buſineſs.'

On the 26th December 1789, I applied for permiſſion to viſit the preſidency in the following letter.

'To Mr. Secretary CHAMIER.

'Sir,

'I was duly honoured with the receipt of your 'letter of the fourth inſtant, in conſequence of which I

'have

' have reſided here ſince the thirteenth of this month. ' You will be pleaſed to inform the honourable board, that I ' requeſt their permiſſion to repair to the preſidency to ſettle ' ſome affairs, which require my preſence there before ' the enſuing diſpatch; aſſuring them at the ſame time, ' that I will take care that the duties of my employ ſhall ' meet with no impediment during my abſence; but that, ' at all events, I ſhall abide by their commands.

' *Arcot*, ' I am, Sir,
' 26th December 1789. ' Your obedient Servant,
' DAVID HALIBURTON.'

The following anſwer was ſent me to the above.

' To Mr. DAVID HALIBURTON,
' Paymaſter at Chunderghurry.

' Sir,

' In reply to your letter of the 26th inſtant, I am ' directed by the board to inform you, that they judge it ' neceſſary for you to continue in the performance of the ' duties of your ſtation.

' I am, Sir,
' Your obedient Servant,
' *Fort St. George*, ' JOHN CHAMIER.'
' 29th December 1789.

On the 6th of January 1790, I forwarded to the governor in council an addreſs to the honourable court of directors, to go by the Goddard, then under diſpatch, in the following words.

' To the Honourable the Court of Directors for affairs of the honourable united Engliſh Eaſt India Company.

' Honourable Sirs,

' Truſting to the indulgent permiſſion you have ' given to ſuch of your ſervants as conſider themſelves ' materially aggrieved, to make known their caſe to your ' honours, I humbly preſume to addreſs you in the manner ' you have been pleaſed to direct, on a matter which deeply ' affects my honour and ſituation in your ſervice, in the ' hope that this ſolemn appeal to your tribunal may induce ' your honours to pronounce how far I have deſerved the ' ſevere cenſure and degradation I have lately met with.

' That

'That I have discharged with fidelity and diligence the 'several trusts reposed in me during a service of near 20 'years, is amply testified by your records at Fort St. 'George. I obtained the appointment of Persian translator 'in 1778, after a laborious study of the language for some 'years; which qualification, and the information I had 'acquired respecting the customs of the country, and 'management of the revenues, induced your late governor 'Lord Macartney, in 1782, to select me to be one of the 'committee for managing the assigned revenue of the 'Carnatic; and my services in that station recommended 'me to Sir Archibald Campbell, for appointing me, in '1786, a member of the board of revenue, constituted by 'your orders at the presidency. The measures of this 'board, as well as those of the committee of assigned re-'venue, obtained not only the approbation of their imme-'diate superiors, but also that of your honourable court. 'During those periods, until very lately, that the majority 'of the board of revenue disagreed in opinion on several 'occasions with the present honourable governor, and his 'brother Mr. Edward Hollond, while acting presidents at 'that board, I never differed in sentiment with the several 'other members who composed it, being convinced that 'your affairs never went on so prosperously as when unani-'mity prevailed amongst the servants you employed. In 'proof that such has been my conduct, I beg leave to refer 'to the proceedings; and I mention it with satisfaction, 'that scarce one instance can be found of importance 'wherein I have stood single in opinion.

'It were needless for me to particularize here the trans-'actions which gave cause to my removal from the board 'of revenue in September last, since they will appear at 'full length before your honours in the proceedings sent to 'you: but as it is incumbent upon me, and it may be ex-'pected I should say something by the present dispatch, in 'regard to what has been laid to my charge by the people 'who complained against me, and which I am to conjec-'ture has been held out as the cause of my removal from 'office, though no such reason is assigned in the extracts of 'consultation sent me by the honourable president in 'council. I shall crave your honours attention to the fol-'lowing particulars.

'The complaint preferred against me on the 15th

'September

' September laſt, by two men who aſſert that I adviſed ' them to deſtroy ſome choukies or watching-houſes, ' newly erected by the beetle and tobacco farmer, by order ' of government, I moſt ſolemnly declare to be falſe and a ' fabrication, for which I truſt I need only to requeſt a re- ' ference to the account given of it by the people them- ' ſelves—one of them having afterwards declared before ' the board, that he did not underſtand Engliſh, in which ' language it is alledged the words were ſpoken, although ' he has not ſcrupled to join in aſſerting various particulars ' ſtated in the petition, and ſwearing to the truth thereof, ' as appears by the proceedings ſent to me on my applica- ' tion after my removal from my late offices.

' What could have inſtigated theſe people to make this ' falſe complaint againſt me I cannot account for, other- ' wiſe than believing them (as I repreſented in my letter ' to the board, dated the 28th September) to have been ' the inſtruments of ſome perſon who wiſhed to injure me. ' The only ground which could have given colouring to ' the accuſation againſt me, was my having joined with ' Meſſrs. Saunders and Moubray, who with myſelf then ' formed the board of revenue, to repreſent, in a letter to ' the honourable governor and council, under date the 18th ' June laſt, the bad conſequences which we apprehended ' might follow from the granting the beetle and tobacco ' renter's claim for extending the limits of his farm, ac- ' cording to the letter of his cowle, which he had never ' applied for before. The petition which was tranſmitted ' to government along with the above letter was ſigned ' by a great number of inhabitants of villages, who were ' affected by the extenſion of which they complained as a ' grievance. It is worthy of notice, as it ſhews that nei- ' ther of the two men who preferred the accuſation againſt ' me were intereſted in the extenſion of the limits, that the ' above-mentioned petition to the board of revenue was ' not ſigned by them, although they pretend to aſſert, in ' their petition againſt me, that they came to the fort to ' complain of the extenſion at the time they alledge I ' ſpoke to them. So far as it became my duty, as a member ' of the board of revenue, and in juſtice to the inhabi- ' tants who complained to them of a grievance, I did in- ' terfere in joining with my colleagues to intercede with ' government in their behalf, but no further. Whenever

' the

' the determination of the ſuperior board in that matter
' was notified to the board of revenue, I readily acted
' with the other members to put it in execution; but I re-
' peat it, and am ready to affirm, in the moſt ſolemn man-
' ner, that I neither did directly or indirectly encourage,
' either by word or action, any individual whatſoever to
' oppoſe or reſiſt any order of government: as a ſervant
' of the honourable company, I knew my duty too well to
' commit ſuch a breach of it; and as a revenue ſervant,
' am fully appriſed of the bad conſequences which muſt
' be the reſult of want of implicit obedience to orders pro-
' ceeding from the controuling authority.

' With reſpect to the evidence relating to an offer made
' to one of the petitioners by a third perſon (Venayigum)
' of five hundred pagodas, to ſuppreſs the evidence before
' given by Cundapah and Saumy, with an implication of
' my name, it is ſcarce neceſſary I ſhould take notice of it;
' for ſince this was not communicated to me before my
' removal from the board of revenue and office of Per-
' ſian tranſlator, I am not to ſuppoſe that it was conſidered
' as containing any charge againſt me. Venayigum, how-
' ever, was neither in my ſervice, nor have I ever had any
' concern with him whatever—if called upon, he could
' not ſay that he was employed by me on any ſuch buſineſs;
' and it might be a matter of conſideration to thoſe who
' are to judge from the circumſtances, whether there is
' any probability that ſuch an offer could be made or re-
' fuſed by one of the loweſt claſs of ryots, who was at no
' time poſſeſſed of ten pagodas. As far as relates to my-
' ſelf, I lament that an inveſtigation could not be made of
' this extraordinary affair by the public trial of Venayigum,
' when I have no doubt the whole truth could have been
' unravelled: ſituated as I am I can only declare my total
' ignorance of the tranſaction.

' I applied to the governor in council for the appoint-
' ment of a committee of gentlemen to inveſtigate all the
' circumſtances of the complaint againſt me; which in
' other inſtances had been thought a fair and impartial
' mode of proceeding, and had not been denied to other
' ſervants of the honourable company.

' My requeſt, however, was not complied with; and I
' hope I ſhall ſtand excuſed with your honours for not ex-
' plaining the reaſons which induced my declining another

' mode

'mode 'propoſed at the board. Little did I at this time 'apprehend the deciſion that followed; conceiving that 'my letter alone of the 28th September, independent of 'my ſolemn aſſertion made verbally at the board when 'called before it, would afford the fulleſt conviction of the 'groundleſs repreſentation againſt me.

'On theſe grounds, however, if I may gueſs from 'the extracts of proceedings ſent to me officially by the 'ſecretary on the 6th of October (for no other reaſons are 'therein aſſigned) I have been removed from two offices 'of truſt and emolument, and appointed paymaſter of 'Chunderghurry.

'Your honours need not be informed, that this place 'was only ſince the laſt war conſidered as a neceſſary 'poſt, being ſituated amongſt remote hills and woods, on 'the frontiers of the Carnatic. The place itſelf is a heap 'of ruins, ſcarce affording quarters for two officers, and 'one company of ſepoys, that is 68 men, whom I am ap-'pointed to pay, that duty having been executed before by 'the paymaſter of Vellore.

'The circumſtance of want of quarters having been re-'preſented on my arrival at Chunderghurry, by captain 'Maſſey, who commands there, I have ſince been per-'mitted by the honourable the governor in council to re-'ſide at Arcot, where I have been for ſome time paſt. From 'this place I lately requeſted leave of the honourable gover-'nor in council to go to the preſidency, to ſettle ſome af-'fairs which required my preſence there before the preſent 'diſpatch for Europe; but they were pleaſed to inform me, 'that it was judged neceſſary that I ſhould perform the du-'ties of my ſtation, by which I am left to underſtand 'it is not their pleaſure that I ſhould come to the preſi-'dency.

'Different as my preſent ſituation may be from the offices 'of emolument and important truſt which I have been thus 'removed from, I know it to be my duty to ſubmit to the 'order of government, and have only to aſſure your ho-'nours, that in whatever ſituation I may be placed in your 'ſervice, I ſhall never loſe ſight of the duty and fidelity I 'owe to my employers.

'From the circumſtances now ſubmitted to your honours, 'I have the fulleſt hope that you will take into your conſi-'deration whether any conduct on my part merited the

'deciſion

'decision which has been given against me; and that you 'will be pleased to pass such judgment on my appeal to your 'justice, as you may deem me entitled to.

'I have the honour to be,

'Honourable Sirs,

'*Arcot*, 'Your most obedient and

'6th January, 1790. 'most faithful Servant,

'DAVID HALIBURTON.'

Mr. John Hollond having resigned the government in February 1789, sailed in the Pigot for England, and General Medows arrived at Madras on the 20th of the same month. On hearing thereof I addressed the following letter to the military secretary.

'To Mr. Secretary CHAMIER.

'Sir,

'You will please to inform the honourable board, 'that having some private business to settle at Madras, I am 'desirous of going thither, and hope they will give me 'permission for that purpose.

'I am, Sir,

'*Arcot*, 'Your very obedient Servant,

'21st February, 1790. 'DAVID HALIBURTON.'

To this I received the following answer, which I afterwards understood was in consequence of General Medows having been at that time uninformed of the particulars of my case.

'*Fort St. George*, 23d February 1790.

'To Mr. D. HALIBURTON.

'Sir,

'I am directed by the honourable the governor in 'council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 'the 20th inst. and to inform you, that the board have 'thought proper to decline a compliance with your request 'of visiting the presidency.

'I am, Sir,

'Your most obedient Servant,

'(Signed) JOHN CHAMIER.'

Finding myself in this dilemma, I addressed General Medows privately as follows.

'To

' To the Honourable Major General MEDOWS, Governor
' of Fort St. George, &c.

' Honourable Sir,

' Motives of reſpect, and conſideration of not
' treſpaſſing on your time, which muſt be ſo greatly occu-
' pied with affairs of a more important and public nature,
' induced me to delay doing myſelf the honour of addreſſing
' you relative to my own ſituation; and the more ſo as I
' was in hopes of being permitted to wait on you in perſon
' ſoon after your arrival at Fort St. George; an event
' which, however fortunate for the public, I had every
' reaſon to conſider peculiarly favourable to myſelf, from the
' reliance I have on your juſtice.

' I ſhall not, however, preſume to trouble you at this
' time, honourable Sir, with a detail of my grievances.
' The circumſtances which led to my removal from the
' reſponſible ſituations I held in the company's ſervice, are
' ſtated in a memorial I addreſſed to the honourable court
' of directors, dated the 6th of January laſt, which I hope
' will be favoured with your attention when your leiſure
' will admit. They are ſuch as I make no doubt will in-
' cline you to conſider me as a perſon moſt rigorouſly and
' unjuſtly treated by the late government.

' What I now crave your attention to, is my preſent
' ſituation, in the hope that you will give me the relief
' which is in your power.

' The appointment of paymaſter to Chunderghurry, a
' ruined fort on the frontier of the Carnatic, garriſoned
' only by 68 ſepoys, was evidently created to keep me at
' a diſtance from the preſidency. As a moſt convincing
' proof that this could only be the intention, and no ways
' with any advantage to the public intereſt, I need only
' mention, that the late government did not inſiſt on my
' remaining at this ſtation, becauſe there were no quarters
' there for my accommodation; nor did they think it proper
' to take ſteps for furniſhing me with any, although I was
' debarred from going to Madras, and ordered to remain
' at Arcot, which is 70 miles from my ſtation, for no rea-
' ſon which could be given. The whole amount of month-
' ly diſburſements at this garriſon does not exceed 450
' pagodas, including my pay and allowances as paymaſter,

' which

'which are nearly one-fourth of that ſum; an expence 'certainly unneceſſary, ſince the duty was formerly exe-'cuted by the paymaſter of Vellore.

'The late government had, however, determined I 'ſhould keep the appointment; and I was under the neceſ-'ſity of ſubmitting to the inconvenience my affairs were 'expoſed to by abſence from Madras, where I had reſided 'for near twenty years, rather than to run the hazard of 'more rigorous meaſures towards me.

'With ſuch reaſons as I have now had the honour to 'lay before you, I hope you will not ſee any impropriety 'in offering my reſignation of this appointment to govern-'ment, contained in the accompanying letter; and that I 'may be permitted to return to the preſidency. For this 'I earneſtly ſolicit the influence of your authority, and that 'you will pardon the liberty which the predicament I am 'in has obliged me to take, in addreſſing you a ſeparate 'letter on this occaſion; being, with the greateſt reſpect 'and ſubmiſſion,

'Honourable Sir,

'*Arcot*, 'Your moſt obedient and
'2d March 1790. 'Humble Servant,
'DAVID HALIBURTON.'

And encloſed therewith the following letter to council.

'To the honourable Major General MEDOWS, Governor in Council.

'Honourable Sir,

'No orders having as yet been given by govern-'ment to Captain Maſſey, for repairing or building quar-'ters for me at Chunderghurry, as intimated to be their in-'tention in Mr. Secretary Chamier's letter to me of the 4th 'December laſt, when I was at the ſame time permitted to 'abſent myſelf as far as Arcot, until quarters were provided 'for me at my proper ſtation, I take the liberty to acquaint 'your honour, that my occaſional attendance at Chun-'derghurry (which is 70 miles from hence) ſubjects me to 'great inconvenience, and an expence no ways provided 'for in the diſburſements of that garriſon, the whole amount 'of which do not exceed 450 pagodas, including my pay

'and allowances as paymaſter'; and I am therefore willing
'to reſign that office, if leave is granted me. I remain,
'Honourable Sir,
'*Arcot*, 'Your moſt obedient Servant,
'1ſt March 1790. 'DAVID HALIBURTON.'

And in conſequence of this letter I received the following from Mr. CHAMIER.

'To Mr. D. HALIBURTON.

'Sir,

'The board permit you to reſign your employ of
'paymaſter at Chunderghurry, agreeably to your requeſt.
'You will be pleaſed to make it over to Mr. Ternor.
'I am, Sir,
'*Fort St. George*, 'Your moſt obedient Servant,
'5th March 1790. 'JOHN CHAMIER.'

I arrived at the preſidency on the 7th March 1790; and on the 18th of the ſame month addreſſed the governor in council, as follows, viz.

'To the Honourable Major General MEDOWS, Governor
'in Council.

'Honourable Sir,

'The neceſſity of this addreſs will, I doubt not,
'fully juſtify me for calling to your honour's attention my
'particular ſituation.

'After a ſervice of near twenty years, and receiving,
'during that time, repeated marks of approbation from my
'ſuperiors, in the ſeveral ſtations of truſt in which I was
'employed, it has been my misfortune to experience within
'theſe few months a very ſevere cenſure, without having it
'in my power to exculpate myſelf of the ſuppoſed miſcon-
'duct laid to my charge. It is not, however, my intention
'to enter into the merits of my caſe, but to pray your ho-
'nour to indulge me with a public and full enquiry into the
'accuſation preferred againſt me in September laſt, which
'gave occaſion to my removal from the board of revenue,
'and office of Perſian tranſlator, willing that my innocence
'or miſconduct ſhall reſt on the iſſue of ſuch inquiry. A
'reference to the proceedings in the revenue department of
'that date, will ſhew your honour in council, that I then
'made it a particular requeſt of government, that they
'would

'would be pleaſed to appoint a committee of gentlemen to 'inveſtigate fully the accuſation (part of which only had 'been at that time communicated to me by their orders); 'and I requeſted at the ſame time that this committee ſhould 'be deſired to aſcertain the characters of the accuſers, and 'whether they had been influenced by fear or intereſt; and 'that I ſhould be allowed to croſs-examine the parties 'through the committee, and produce evidence in refuta- 'tion of the charge; adding, moreover, that I made this 'requeſt with the greater confidence, as it had never been 'denied to other ſervants of the company, and muſt be 'conſidered as a fair and impartial mode of proceeding. 'This requeſt was, however, not complied with, and in- 'ſtead of it, it was propoſed to me at the board, when 'called before them, that they would themſelves hear what 'I had to ſay in my defence. The predicament I ſtood in 'did not allow me to accede to this propoſal, neither could 'the objections I had to make to it be explained by me at 'that time; yet, after declining it, I offered to atteſt upon 'oath my innocence of the whole charge, and repeated my 'requeſt that a committee ſhould be appointed for its 'inveſtigation.

'My reaſons for ſo doing will, I doubt not, appear ſuffi- 'cient to your honour, when I inform you, that at the 'very time this unexpected offer was made to me at the 'board, great part of the evidence relating to this charge 'had not been officially communicated to me, nor did I 'ever know, but from public report, that the parties had been 'ſworn to the truth of it. I was beſides convinced of the ill 'diſpoſition towards me of a perſon who, from his ſituation, 'had it much in his power to influence any native evidence 'brought before the board. This was the dubaſh or pri- 'vate agent of the late governor Mr. John Hollond, one 'Paupiah, a Bramin, who, it was generally believed, poſ- 'ſeſſed much influence; and I had myſelf proof of his 'having made uſe of it, to take unwarrantable methods for 'procuring accuſations againſt me, with a view of getting 'me removed from the board of revenue. He had been 'preſent at every conſultation, when the parties who accuſ- 'ed me were examined and ſworn, although he bore no 'public office to entitle him to ſuch diſtinction. How far 'his preſence might operate in influencing ſuch evidence, 'it is unneceſſary for me at preſent to take notice, but it

'is certain that while his inimical diſpoſition to me was ſo 'notorious, no one native would have dared to come for-'ward in my behalf. Another powerful reaſon was, the 'known diſinclination of the late governor Mr. John 'Hollond to me, ariſing from the difference of opinion be-'tween us as members of the board of revenue. Theſe, 'and other circumſtances which came to my knowledge, 'raiſed my ſuſpicion; and granting they were merely ſuſ-'picions, it was certainly juſtifiable in me, under ſuch 'circumſtances, to decline the mode of enquiry propoſed 'to me at the board.

'Such objections being now, happily for me, removed, 'I take this opportunity, upon my returning to the preſi-'dency, to inform your honour, that I am ready to ſubmit 'to any mode of enquiry you are pleaſed to inſtitute, either 'by yourſelf in council, or, as uſual, by a committee of any 'number of company's ſervants you ſhall pleaſe to appoint.

'Your honour will pardon the anxiety I feel on this 'occaſion, ſince it is natural for every accuſed perſon, who 'is conſcious of his innocence, to wiſh for an opportunity 'of clearing his character; and in making this requeſt, I 'can have no doubt but you will conſider the compliance 'with it as an act of juſtice due to me.

'I have the honour to be,
'Honourable Sir,
'Your moſt obedient and
'Moſt humble ſervant,
'DAVID HALIBURTON.'

'*Fort St. George*,
'18th March 1791.

My application for a committee was refuſed, although General Medows was of opinion it ſhould be granted.

Mr. E. J. Hollond and Mr. Taylor were removed from council by order from Bengal in April 1790; and on the 23d July 1790 I was appointed to the board of revenue de novo, but without any reference to what had paſſed on my ſubject before.

The orders of the court of directors arrived in September 1791. See Appendix (A.)

I ſhall ever retain a due ſenſe of the very flattering manner in which the honourable court were pleaſed to anticipate any exculpation againſt the charges preferred againſt me. In January 1792, the attorney general's charges againſt Meſſieurs Hollonds were received here, one of which

which was for removing me informally, and without juſt cauſe, from office. See Appendix (B.)

In January 1792 I again applied for a committee of inveſtigation, which was appointed in February 1792, with inſtructions to enquire into and report the cauſes which led to my removal from office. The committee conſiſted of Meſſrs. H. Michel, D. Ince, and C. Baker. They ſent their report to government on the 3d July 1792, as entered in the Appendix (C.): a work which does great credit to the perſeverance and ability of thoſe gentlemen, to whom I take this opportunity of returning my ſincere thanks for the perſonal ſervice they have done me thereby. Government was pleaſed to furniſh me with a copy thereof; and, on peruſing it, I lodged the neceſſary informations before one of the juſtices of the peace, charging Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Mr. John Hollond's and Mr. Edward John Hollond's dubaſh, his brother Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, with a conſpiracy againſt me, whereby I was removed, in September 1789, from the ſtations of member of the board of revenue, and Perſian tranſlator, which I then held under the government of Fort St. George.

The trial, which laſted from 10 o'clock in the forenoon of Thurſday the 12th, to one o'clock in the afternoon of Friday the 13th inſtant, details ſo fully the abandoned character of the conſpirators and their abettors, that I ſhould conſider it a treſpaſs on the diſcernment as well as patience of the reader to offer any comment thereon.

DAVID HALIBURTON.

Fort St. George.
July 30th 1792.

Appendix (A.)

Extract of a General Letter from England, dated 6th May 1791.

WE have conſidered the proceedings of the late government, in conſequence of the beetle and tobacco renter having extended his former limits for the excluſive vend of thoſe commodities, and which led to the removal of Mr. David Haliburton from the offices held by him at your preſidency. It cannot perhaps be diſputed, that, by the literal terms of the cowle granted to the renter, he was intitled to the extenſion he claimed; but we are left to conjecture why, after the preſent and former renters had, for the ſpace of thirty years and upwards, continued to act under a ſimilar cowle, without ever having exerciſed the power of extending their limits beyond the former uſual bounds, the preſent renter ſhould at once venture to extend theſe bounds, without any previous application, either to the governor and council or to the board of revenue; and, on meeting with oppoſition from the inhabitants, immediately procure from the late government an order from the board of revenue to afford him ſuch redreſs as he might be entitled to *by his cowle*, without directing any previous enquiry to be made, how it happened, that, for the ſpace of ſo many years, ſuch an extenſion had neither been exerciſed nor claimed, notwithſtanding every ſucceſſive cowle had been made out in the ſame manner. We direct, therefore, that you will call Suntar Chinna Kiſtnama Chitty, the preſent renter, before you, and enquire of him, in the moſt ſolemn manner, whether, before he ventured to extend the former limits, he received the direct or implied ſanction of any member of the then government for that purpoſe, or any promiſe of ſupport; and whether he, either directly or indirectly, paid, or promiſed to pay, any ſum of money, and to what amount, and to whom, for ſuch ſupport and ſanction. For when we conſider, that upon the reference which was made to the revenue board on the occaſion, they reported to the late government, 'that if 'the renter's cowle was to be extended to certain places,

'the

'the price of thoſe neceſſary articles of life would be found 'to be triple the price they now coſt, to the great diſtreſs of 'the inhabitants; and that it might be fairly preſumed, 'that, whatever right the renter now aſſerts he poſſeſſes 'by virtue of his cowle, the extenſion of his limits would 'be an *innovation* not warranted by any practice of his 'own, or that of any former renter, and was on that ground 'perhaps *inadmiſſible*. That at any rate, convinced as they 'were that the *innovation* (for in no other light could 'they conſider it) was injurious, and in a great degree 'oppreſſive, to the inhabitants of the places reſiding with-'out the ancient limits, they did not heſitate to ſubmit to 'Mr. John Hollond in council the propriety of confining 'the renter to the ſale of his beetle, as had been practiſed 'hitherto; and that if, after due conſideration of the above 'circumſtances, the renter ſhould be thought entitled to a 'remiſſion on that account, it was their opinion that it 'would be better to allow it to him, than to continue the 'cauſe of complaint.' When we conſider that all theſe very ſerious repreſentations of the board of revenue to the late government only produced from them, and that *inſtantly*, a poſitive order, 'That the beetle and tobacco 'renter be acquainted, that he is to be permitted to ſell 'thoſe articles according to the diſtance or limits expreſſed 'in the cowle,' we are ſtrongly inclined to believe, that the renter had previouſly arranged the buſineſs in his own favour by communications which do not appear upon the face of your records; and the more eſpecially when we find, by his own aſſertion, that by thus extending his limits beyond what had been uſual, he expected to encreaſe his receipts 5,000 pagodas per annum.

We ſhall now ſpeak of the proceedings of the late government (of which the Meſſrs. Hollond compoſed the majority) in conſequence of ſeveral of the inhabitants of the village of Voillapy having oppoſed the before-mentioned order, in ſupport of the cowle granted to the beetle and tobacco renter, by pulling down the choukeys erected there, and beating the ſeapoys ſent to preſerve order, and which proceedings were the more immediate cauſe of the removal of Mr. Haliburton from the offices he held at the preſidency, on a charge of encouraging theſe people in their reſiſtance to the before-mentioned order of government. This charge, we perceive, is intirely ſupported by the evidence

of two men, named Cundapah and Saumy, in a petition to Mr. Hollond and his council, in which are the following words: 'Mr. Haliburton told them that the preſent order 'for extending the limits of the mettows or choukeys as far 'as ten miles has been given only by the governor, againſt 'the pleaſure of his committee, and if your petitioners can 'pull down the choukeys or hutts now extended, and commit 'ſuch diſturbances, ſo as the complaint may be brought to 'the committee, he promiſed to exert the utmoſt of his 'power for removing the choukeys. Your petitioners, rely-'ing on his promiſe, pulled down the mettows or choukeys.' —This petition was preſented to the board on the 15th September 1789; on the 18th both theſe men attended the council; 'and the original petition, in the Malabar language, 'ſigned by them, being read to them by Shumagaroy, ſworn 'interpreter to the juſtices, they take their oaths, according 'to the cuſtom of their caſt, to the truth of its contents.' Now it appears, by a declaration of one of theſe very men (Saumy) made on the ſaid 15th of September, that the converſation with Mr. Haliburton was in Engliſh, 'which he '(Saumy) did not underſtand;' yet this very ſame man ſwore, on the 18th, to the truth of the contents of the petition, mentioning the very words in which Mr. Haliburton was ſuppoſed to encourage them to reſiſt the order of government; and ſwears likewiſe, at the ſame inſtant, to the truth of the particulars of his ſeparate examination on the 15th, in which he declares he does not underſtand the Engliſh language. Yet upon this contradictory evidence, and without any previous enquiry into the characters of the accuſers, and after Mr. Haliburton had offered to atteſt his innocence in the moſt ſolemn manner, was Mr. Haliburton removed from his ſeat at the revenue board, and from his office of Perſian tranſlator.

We obſerve that Mr. Haliburton, in reply to the charge in the petition, earneſtly ſolicited an inveſtigation of its contents; declaring that he had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe that theſe two men were merely the inſtruments of others who were acting with a view to injure his character, and to deprive him of his ſituation in the company's ſervice; and therefore requeſted that a committee might be appointed to inveſtigate the matter more fully.—This reaſonable requeſt, however, was denied to Mr. Haliburton; and though he again declares before the board, 'that he is 'ready to affirm on oath, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that

'what

'what had been alledged againſt him was falſe, and a fabrica-
'tion,' immediately after he withdrew from the council, the then preſident, Mr. John Hollond, inſtantly declared himſelf ſo fully ſenſible of Mr. Haliburton's miſconduct in this 'buſineſs, that he propoſed he ſhould be removed from his 'offices at the preſidency;' which was agreed to by Mr. Edward John Hollond, and the preſident's motion was carried accordingly. It is but juſtice due to Mr. Caſamayor, to obſerve that he diſſented to this improper reſolution.

It is impoſſible for us to review the whole of this extraordinary tranſaction in all its circumſtances, without ſuſpecting ſome latent cauſe, not only for depriving this gentleman of his ſeat at the revenue board, and of his office of Perſian tranſlator, but to drive him from the ſettlement to ſome remote corner, where it would be out of his power, either by his official repreſentations or otherwiſe, to detect and thwart the meaſures of Mr. John Hollond, particularly in revenue matters, were they never ſo repugnant to juſtice, or never ſo injurious to the company's intereſts.

Had the late adminiſtration ſeriouſly believed Mr. Haliburton guilty of the charge alledged againſt him, it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the before-mentioned motion of Mr. John Hollond would have cloſed with appointing him paymaſter at Chunderghurry; on the contrary, if they really believed the evidence againſt him, it was natural to imagine they would at once have diſmiſſed or ſuſpended him from the company's ſervice, eſpecially after he had but that inſtant greatly aggravated his ſuppoſed offence, in offering to exculpate himſelf, by an *oath*, from a charge, which they in their conſciences believed to have been proved. The late government have thus furniſhed us with another reaſon for thinking, as we really do, that the whole of the proceedings againſt Mr. Haliburton were carried on from no other motive, than to deprive him of his ſeat at the board of revenue, and to baniſh him from the preſidency, that he might not be in the way of detecting or expoſing meaſures, that could not be juſtified. If this were not the caſe, why was he afterwards refuſed permiſſion to come to Madras to ſettle ſome affairs which required his preſence there, previous to the diſpatch of the General Goddard, and yet allowed to reſide at Arcot?

Upon the whole, therefore, ſo ſenſible are we of the injuſtice of the proceedings againſt Mr. Haliburton, and of his innocence

innocence of the charge exhibited againſt him, that we hereby direct that he be recalled from Chunderghurry, and appointed to his ſtation at the revenue board, and to his office of Perſian tranſlator. If Mr. Haliburton ſhall be ſtill deſirous, for his own more complete juſtification, that the buſineſs ſhould be inveſtigated by a committee, or ſhall think that circumſtances may come out, by ſuch an inveſtigation, that will more fully explain the *real* motives of the late government, for their unjuſtifiable proceedings againſt him, we ſhall have no objection; though for our own part we muſt again declare, that we are already fully convinced of Mr. Haliburton's innocence.

If, however, at the deſire of Mr. Haliburton, a committee of enquiry ſhould be appointed, we would have you draw their attention to what appears upon the revenue conſultations of the 22d September 1789, concerning the attempts that were made to ſuborn the perſons who gave evidence at the two preceding conſultations to retract their declaration, that all the circumſtances may be ſtrictly inveſtigated—reporting your proceedings to us upon the whole buſineſs, by an early opportunity.

Since writing thus far we find, by your advices and proceedings per Houghton, that Mr. Haliburton has been recalled from Chunderghurry, and appointed a member of the board of revenue, which we entirely approve. We obſerve alſo that he has ſolicited an enquiry into his conduct: you will therefore cauſe ſuch enquiry to be proſecuted, agreeably to the before-mentioned directions.

(B)

AND the ſaid attorney general of our ſaid lord the king, for our ſaid lord the king, further giveth the court here to underſtand and be informed, That the court of directors of the ſaid united company did, on the 29th day of March 1774, give their orders and inſtructions to the governor and council of Fort St. Georgre aforeſaid, and did by the 20th article thereof direct, that, before the removal of any company's ſervant from any office, the party ſhould be made acquainted, in writing, with the accuſation preferred

preferred againſt him, that he ſhould be ſummoned to make his defence, having a reaſonable time allowed him for that purpoſe, and that the ſaid governor and council ſhould proceed on all ſuch occaſions with the greateſt tenderneſs and circumſpection; of which orders and inſtructions the ſaid John Hollond, and the council of Fort St. George aforeſaid, to wit, on the 4th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1789, at Fort St. George aforeſaid, had notice. And the ſaid attorney general of our ſaid lord the king, for our ſaid lord the king, further giveth the court here to underſtand and be informed, that whilſt the ſaid John Hollond was governor or preſident as aforeſaid, (to wit) on the 15th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1789, at Fort St. George aforeſaid, two native inhabitants, by name Cundapah and Saumy, preferred a petition to the governor and council of Fort St. George aforeſaid, containing, amongſt other things, an accuſation againſt Mr. David Haliburton, then and there being a ſervant of the ſaid unity company, of the rank or ſtanding of ſenior merchant, and holding a ſeat at the board of revenue of the ſaid preſidency of Fort St. George, as likewiſe the office of Perſian tranſlator of the ſame preſidency, for that he the ſaid David Haliburton had adviſed the ſaid Cundapah to pull down certain chokeys or cuſtom-houſes erected by certain farmers of the monopoly of beetle and tobacco, and to commit ſuch diſturbances as to bring a complaint before the committee, he the ſaid David Haliburton promiſing in that caſe to exert the utmoſt of his power for removing the ſaid choukeys; and the ſaid petitioners thereby alſo declaring, that they the ſaid Cundapah and Saumy, relying on ſuch promiſe, had pulled down the ſaid choukeys; yet the ſaid John Hollond, as ſuch governor, diſregarding his duty, and the truſt repoſed in him by the ſaid united company as ſuch governor, together with the council of Fort St. George aforeſaid, in wilful breach and violation thereof, and of the ſaid orders and inſtructions, on the 30th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1789, at Fort St. George aforeſaid, did arbitrarily, oppreſſively, and unjuſtly remove the ſaid David Haliburton from his ſaid offices as a member of the board of revenue at Fort St. George aforeſaid, and Perſian tranſlator to the ſaid company at the ſaid ſettlement or preſidency of Fort St. George, without making him acquainted in writing with the ſaid accuſation

preferred

preferred againſt him, and without his having a reaſonable time allowed him for making his defence to the ſaid accuſation, and without proceeding with proper tenderneſs and circumſpection on that occaſion, according to ſuch orders and inſtructions; for that the ſaid John Hollond, ſo being governor as aforeſaid, together with the ſaid council of Fort St. George aforeſaid, after that they had received the ſaid petition and charge, ſo made and preferred as aforeſaid, and before they gave or ordered any communication thereof to be given to the ſaid David Haliburton, did in a ſecret and clandeſtine manner call the ſaid Cundapah and Saumy before them on ſundry days and times (to wit) in the month of September aforeſaid, and did examine them on their oath, touching and concerning the matters of the ſaid petition, and particularly in what related to the ſaid accuſation ſo made or ſuggeſted againſt the ſaid David Haliburton, and did cauſe their examinations, on oath, ſo partially taken, to be committed to writing, and did not communicate the ſaid examinations, or the purport thereof, or any intimation that the ſaid accuſers had been or were intended to be ſo examined upon their oath, unto him the ſaid David Haliburton, and did, without any due and juſt inveſtigation into the truth and ground of the ſaid charge, and without confronting the ſaid accuſers Cundapah and Saumy with the ſaid David Haliburton, and without permitting the ſaid David Haliburton to croſs-examine the ſaid accuſers, and without giving or allowing a reaſonable time unto him the ſaid David Haliburton, for the making or preparing his defence to the ſaid charge or repreſentation, proceed, (to wit) on the 30th day of the ſame September, arbitrarily, illegally, oppreſſively, and unjuſtly to remove the ſaid David Haliburton, from his ſaid offices of a member of the board of revenue, and Perſian tranſlator as aforeſaid, to the great oppreſſion and damage of the ſaid David Haliburton, in wilful breach and violation of the ſaid orders and inſtructions of the ſaid court of directors, and of the duty of the ſaid John Hollond, as ſuch governor as aforeſaid, in contempt of our ſaid lord the king and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like caſe offending, and againſt the ſtatutes in that caſe made and provided.

And the ſaid attorney general of our ſaid lord the king, for our ſaid lord the king, further giveth the court here to underſtand, and be informed, that the ſaid John Hollond, whilſt

whilſt governor or preſident of Fort St. George aforeſaid, together with the council of Fort George aforeſaid (to wit) on the 30th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1789, at Fort St. George aforeſaid, did wrongfully, maliciouſly, arbitrarily, and unjuſtly, by and under the colour of the ſaid offices of governor and council of Fort St. George aforeſaid, remove David Haliburton, then and there being a ſervant of the ſaid united company, of the rank or ſtanding of a ſenior merchant, and holding a ſeat at the revenue board of the ſaid preſidency or ſettlement, and alſo the office of Perſian tranſlator there, from his ſaid ſeat and office, to the grievous oppreſſion and injury of the ſaid David Haliburton, in wilful breach and violation of the duty of the ſaid John Hollond, as ſuch governor as aforeſaid, in contempt of our ſovereign lord the king, and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like caſe offending, and againſt the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided.

Copy of Letter annexed to Appendix (C.)

To Mr. David Haliburton.

Sir,

The committee appointed to enquire into the cauſe of your removal from office in September 1789, having cloſed their report, I am directed by the governor in council to tranſmit you a copy thereof, with an extract from the minutes of conſultation, containing the board's reſolution in conſequence.

I am, Sir,

Fort St. George, 4th July, 1792.

Your moſt obedient ſervant,
Robert Clerk,
Dep. Secy.

Extract from the Minutes of Conſultation, dated 3d July 1792.

The board remark, that the above proceedings contain a full refutation of the charges brought againſt Mr. Haliburton in September 1789, and exhibit a ſcene of baſe intrigues and artifices on the part of the ſeveral natives mentioned in the laſt paragraph of the report.

Reſolved therefore, That Paupiah Ramaſaumy, Vinc-atachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar, who by the committee's report are proved to have conſpired with the view to injure

jure Mr. Haliburton's character and ſituation in the ſervice, be brought to trial at the quarter ſeſſions, for their atrocious practices; and that the above depoſitions be accordingly ſent to the clerk to the juſtices, with an order that he lay them before the juſtice of the month.

Reſolved, That the committee be diſſolved, and that the ſecretary communicate to them the board's approbation of the diligence and attention they have ſhewn in the diſcharge of this duty.

Ordered, That the account of expences, delivered in by the committee of enquiry, reſpecting the cauſe of Mr. Haliburton's removal, amounting to 38 pagodas 3 fanams, be diſcharged by the paymaſter.

A true extract,
ROBERT CLERK, Dep. Secry.

To the Honourable Major General MEDOWS, Preſident and Governor, in Council, Fort St. George.

Honourable Sir,

In obedience to your orders, conveyed to us in Mr. Secretary Jackſon's letter of the 22d February, to inveſtigate the cauſe or cauſes which occaſioned the removal of Mr. David Haliburton from his ſeat at the board of revenue, and from the office of Perſian tranſlator, during the adminiſtration of Mr. John Hollond; we formed ourſelves in a committee accordingly.

At the commencement of our enquiry, and frequently in the proſecution of it, we experienced many delays by the non-attendance of the people whoſe evidences we judged it neceſſary to take. Theſe, in addition to the attention which our reſpective public avocations required, have prevented us from laying, at an earlier period, the reſult of our proceedings before your honourable board.

Our firſt endeavour was to procure the attendance of the two perſons named Colopauken Cundapah, and Inaveram Saumy, who, by the extracts from the revenue conſultations with which you were pleaſed to furniſh us, ſtand as the original accuſers of Mr. Haliburton, and were particularly inſtrumental in carrying on the meaſures which led to his removal.

It was not until theſe two men had received the fulleſt aſſurances of protection from us, which we gave them, on condition that they made a full and ample diſcovery of all

they

they knew, that they conſented to come forward with their declarations.

Cundapah being the firſt who attended upon us, was deſired to commit to paper all the circumſtances reſpecting Mr. Haliburton, which were within his knowledge and recollection; at the ſame time he was ſtrictly enjoined to adhere ſolely to the truth, as he would be required to atteſt his declaration in the moſt ſolemn manner at the Triplicane Pagoda: ſimilar injunctions were alſo laid on Saumy, and both promiſed a rigid obſervance of them.

At different periods they delivered in their reſpective declarations, to which they put their ſignatures; and afterwards, accompanied by Mr. Michell and Mr. Ince, they proceeded to the Triplicane Pagoda, where they atteſted to the truth of theſe declarations, with all the ſolemnities uſual on ſuch occaſions.

Tranſlates of theſe appear in the Appendix, No. 1 and 2, and as they exhibit perhaps the moſt wicked and unparalleled combinations that were ever formed againſt any individual in a public and confidential ſtation, we muſt beg leave to beſpeak the particular attention of your honourable board to the leading and moſt ſtriking circumſtances ſo minutely detailed in them: We ſhall begin with that of Colapaukum Cundapah.

This man formerly rented the village of Mopare, from Poonapah Modeliar, renter of Saint Magans, but falling in arrears, and being much preſſed for payment, he reſorted to Paupiah, whoſe maſter, Mr. Edward John Hollond, at that time preſided over the board of revenue; and although Paupiah directed Poonapah Modeliar to deſiſt from haraſſing him, Cundapah was nevertheleſs apprehenſive of further trouble, if he returned to his village; and therefore remained at Madras, going occaſionally to the houſe of Paupiah.

About the ſame period Paupiah was ſolicited to effect the abolition of the Wara-Chuttum (fixed ſhare) which had been eſtabliſhed by Mr. Dighton, in order that the Mamoul War (ſhare according to cuſtom) might be reſtored; and meetings were frequently had at his houſe, at which were preſent Vincatachillah Chitty, Ramah Saumy, Appeyingar, nephew to Streenwaſhiak, the natawar of Conjeveram. So little caution was, however, uſed at theſe aſſemblies, that Cundapah affirms to have heard Paupiah declare, that whilſt Mr. Haliburton continued at the board of revenue,

hue, the object could not be fulfilled; that if they would procure any fault againſt him, he, Paupiah, would get him removed, and his maſter would then ſettle the buſineſs as he thought proper. To this Vincatachillah Chitty replied, 'Is there occaſion to uſe ſo much exertion for ſo trifling a 'matter? We will get any two perſons to ſwear that they 'have given a bribe of one or two thouſand pagodas to 'Mr. Haliburton, and you will then get him removed 'accordingly, and that it was ſo by the Engliſh law.'—It appears Paupiah approved this ſcheme, expreſſed his ſatisfaction that Vincatachillah Chitty had ſuggeſted it, and ſignified his reſolution to carry it into effect.

At this period, which, on queſtioning Cundapah, we find to be in September 1789, the limits of the beetle and tobacco farm were extending four or five miles, to the great diſcontent of the inhabitants of the villages ſituated within that boundary, who feeling the hardſhip of the meaſure, pulled down the mettoos, which being replaced, and again deſtroyed, ſepoys were ſent out, who ſecured many of the ryotts, and they were committed to the main guard. After two or three day's confinement, they ſolicited Cundapah to intercede for them with Paupiah; which Cundapah promiſed to do, and went the ſame evening to Paupiah's houſe, where he met with Appeyingar and Vincatachillah Chitty, to whom he related the purport of his viſit. Vincatachillah Chitty told him, if he heard his advice, the ryotts ſhould be immediately enlarged. Cundapah acquieſced, but it does not appear that Vincatachillah Chitty then imparted to him this advice; but the declaration ſtates that Paupiah, his brother Ramaſwamy, Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar, conſulted together for ſome time.

The next morning Cundapah returned to Paupiah's houſe, where Vincatachillah Chitty and Appeyingar were, and having been ordered by Paupiah to go to the beetle renter's houſe, they proceeded thither in their palanquins. After waiting there ſome time, Cundapah was called in, and was told by Paupiah and Chinna Kiſtnama Chitty, that the gentlemen (meaning, we ſuppoſe, the board of revenue) were very much incenſed againſt his people, and would tranſport them to Bencoolen: Cundapah pleaded much in their behalf, when he was told to hear the advice of Vincatachillah Chitty. He and Apppeyingar, having previouſly

previouſly drawn out a paper, and two rolls of cadjan in Malabar, preſented them to Cundapah, and deſired his ſignature to them: On aſking the contents, he was told to read them; he ſaid, he could not read well; they again deſired him to ſign it, ſaying it was a petition to the governor, which on being preſented would procure the releaſe of his people in the main guard; that one of the cadjans was to be ſent to his people at Coratoor, the other to Poroor; and that when the people in confinement were ſent for by the council, they were to bring the cadjans with them, and deliver them to the governor, who would not inflict any puniſhment upon them, but releaſe them. Cundapah declares, that not being able to read well, being urged by four principal people to ſign it, and aſſured by them it would procure the enlargement of his people, he was therefore induced to ſign it, though ignorant of the contents of the paper: this done, he was deſired to deliver it to Paupiah, which he did.

It would greatly have aſſiſted our reſearches, could we have procured the original petitions and cadjans, which were delivered in, and read in council of 15th September 1789; but our efforts to obtain them have proved ineffectual, nor can we trace how they have been diſpoſed of. Circumſtances however conſidered, it may be juſtly preſumed they were taken away ſo ſoon as the object for which they were intended was accompliſhed, and in order to prevent the poſſibility of their being brought forward in evidence at any future period.

Cundapah diſpatched the cadjans as directed, and went afterwards to the fort, where Paupiah delivered to him the paper, which he, Cundapah, had juſt before ſigned, deſiring him to get a witneſs to it; on Cundapah's aſking why a witneſs was neceſſary, he was told by Paupiah, that the paper contained a complaint againſt Mr. Haliburton, and there ſhould be a witneſs to it. It appears Cundapah remonſtrated warmly with Paupiah, on being brought forward to accuſe Mr. Haliburton without any cauſe whatever; Paupiah thereupon threatened to have him ſent to Bencoolen, to hang him on the ſpot, to confine him in the main guard for life for the balance of rent due from him, if he did not exactly conform to his wiſhes. And Vincata-chillah Chitty told him, that he would declare that he, Cundapah, had informed him, that Mr. Haliburton had

adviſed the deſtruction of the mettoos, and that he and Appeyingar would make oath to the ſame. After uſing various threats, and intimidating him greatly, Vincatachillah called Cundapah, and aſked, 'Why are you afraid of 'this Mr. Haliburton, ſo great and little Hollonds have 'occaſion to remove him? if you will preſent the petition, they will keep it as an inſtrument, and they will carry 'on the buſineſs by it. I have got done many ſuch things in 'the mayor's court, and you muſt not fear for it.' Paupiah told him, that 'Even the nabob, and the rajah of 'Tanjore, were afraid of oppoſing his meaſures; and how 'dared he, Cundapah, to oppoſe them?'—Theſe, with menaces of the like nature, ſo intimidated him, that Cundapah declares, he went and procured Saumy's ſignature, and delivered it to the governor Mr. John Hollond.

The next day Cundapah, with the inhabitants which were in the main guard, were brought before council; he was aſked if his name was Cundapah, to which he replied in the affirmative: he was then aſked, if the name to the petition was his ſignature, to which he declares he intended to acknowledge the ſignature, but to avow an entire ignorance of its contents. Paupiah was near him, made ſigns by his eyes of his anger, grinded with his teeth, and ſcratched with his finger on his back; and told him, in a low tone of voice, that he ſhould be hanged that moment; all which ſo alarmed Cundapah, that he was afraid of ſpeaking loud, and declares that ſuch was his terror, he does not recollect what paſſed further. The next day he was ordered to the governor's gardens, where he was informed by Paupiah and Anapillay, that the deputy ſecretary was waiting to ſee the oath adminiſtered to him at Triplicane Pagoda; which Cundapah ſays he refuſed, even if they ſhould behead him. That then Paupiah ſaid, 'It is well you 'have ſpoke ſo, you may tell you would not come to 'Triplicane Pagoda; but if the gentlemen require you to 'do ſo, I ſhall ſpeak to them privately in your behalf: if 'it cannot be helped, you may drink away a ſpoonful of 'water. Who are the people that had not drank water in 'the town?' The next day Paupiah carried him to the conſultation room, where the common oath was adminiſtered, but he declares he did not ſwallow the holy water.

We ſhall now unfold to you, honourable Sir, the extraordinary circumſtances relating to the charge of attempts having

having been made to ſuborn the perſons who gave evidence at the conſultations of the 15th and 18th September 1789, to retract their declarations, a point to which you have been pleaſed to direct our particular attention.

A few days after the oath had been adminiſtered to Cundapah, in the conſultation room, of the 18th September, Paupiah ſent for him, and pointed out a Bramin, whom Cundapah did not know; and told him, that he, with the Bramin, and Appeyingar, were to go to Suncoo Chinna Kiſtnamah's houſe, and bring 500 pagodas, which would be paid him; they went, and found Vincatachillah Chitty ſitting with Chinna Kiſtnamah, and a parcel (which, to the beſt of Cundapah's recollection, was the identical one we ſhowed him, and which we received on application from your civil ſecretary) was delivered to Appeyingar, who was told it contained 500 pagodas. This they carried to Paupiah's houſe, who inſtructed Cundapah to the following effect, namely, 'To return to Ineveram Saumy's houſe, 'and that he would ſend the 500 pagodas by the Bramin, 'who would pay them into his (Cundapah's) hands; that 'he was to keep two or three witneſſes to what the Bramin 'might ſay, and make it known to the neighbours; that 'he was to lay hold of the Bramin, and bring him to the 'governor's gardens.'

Cundapah declares, that he remonſtrated with Paupiah againſt being concerned in ſuch a plot; but he was ſilenced by being told, that unleſs he executed the buſineſs it would bear hard with his life. Upon this Cundapah went to the abode of Inaveram Saumy, where, ſoon afterwards, the Bramin arrived, and ſaid to him, 'Venaigum Moodeley has bid 'me to go to you, and to tell you this: there are 500 pagodas 'in this parcel, which you will take, and declare what 'Paupiah has told you to ſay againſt Mr. Haliburton, 'otherwiſe you had better quit the place, and run away; 'if you will do one of the above two buſineſſes Mr. Hali-'burton will give you a thouſand pagodas more.'

In conformity to Paupiah's orders, Cundapah received the parcel, ſeized the Bramin, and, accompanied by Inaveram Saumy, went to the governor's garden about midnight—Paupiah was angry at their not having come ſooner—he then carried them up ſtairs to Mr. John Hollond, and having brought paper, pen, and ink, Paupiah ordered Saumy to write while he dictated: Cundapah afterwards ſigned, and Saumy witneſſed it. This being done,

done, they were put in charge of the governor's body guard, where Paupiah furniſhed them with a carpet, and told them not to fear; there they remained the whole of the following day and night, and the day after they were brought to the conſultation room, where they were aſked what paſſed, and the mint and water oath was adminiſtered; all the time they remained in the conſultation room Cundapah declares he was under conſtant apprehenſions of Paupiah, and was ſo confuſed as hardly to know what he ſaid or did. This, honourable ſir, is the ſubſtance of Cundapah's evidence, depoſed to at the Triplicane Pagoda; and we ſhall now recite the ſubſtance of the moſt material parts of Innaveram Saumy's; which, added to the teſtimony of Appajee Row, fully expoſes the whole plot, and eſtabliſhes, by a chain of the moſt clear, circumſtantial, and collateral evidence, the cauſes which led to and effected the removal of Mr. Haliburton.

It appears by the declaration of Saumy, that he alſo was oppreſſed by Poonapah Moodely, renter of Saint Magans; and complained to Paupiah, dubaſh to Mr. John Hollond, of it, who promiſed to interpoſe in his behalf. Saumy alſo corroborates the teſtimony of Cundapah, that about this time the buſineſs of the new Wara Chuttum was under diſcuſſion; and that the Natawar of Conjeveram, and other inhabitants, had been with Paupiah on the occaſion. He alſo ſtates the extenſion of the beetle farmer's limits, the deſtruction of his chowkeys, and the confinement in the main guard of ſome of the inhabitants, ſuppoſed to have been concerned therein.

Two or three days after this happened Saumy ſtates, that he went to Paupiah as uſual, who told him, that he had waited on him a long time, but that he would get orders to Poonapah Moodely regarding his buſineſs, and deſired he would ſign a petition to be preſented to the governor by Cundapah; upon this Saumy aſked the occaſion for his ſigning as a witneſs; and was told by Paupiah, that Mr. Haliburton would come from the upper part of the government houſe, and Cundapah would follow him; and that he (Saumy) muſt repreſent as if he had ſeen Cundapah follow him, and heard when he ſpoke to him. On Saumy's refuſal to do this, Paupiah was much enraged, threatened to recommend to Poonapah Moodely to deprive him of his inheritance, abuſed him groſsly, and attempted to beat him. Saumy adds, that Ramaſaumy, Appeyingar Saſachella Chitty,

Chitty, Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, and Vincatachillah Chitty, who were near Paupiah, uſed every perſuaſion to induce him to ſign as a witneſs; that Mr. Haliburton then came down, and was followed by Cundapah to the gate-way of the fort ſquare, who then returned, and deſired Saumy to ſign it as a witneſs, according to Paupiah's direction; that Paupiah afterwards led him by the hand to the council-room, where the uſual oath was adminiſtered, but he declared he did not drink the water.

With reſpect to the attempts ſaid to have been made to induce him and Cundapah to retract their former declarations, Saumy atteſts as follows—That ſome days after he had attended the council, and when at Paupiah's houſe, where Ramaſaumy Appeyingar Saſachella Chitty and Vincatachillah Chitty were preſent, Paupiah called him, and, in a loud tone of voice, told him, "Saumy Moodely, 'ſend one of your caſt men, who may be great friend, 'truſty and active, with Saſachella Chitty, to Sunkoo 'Ramah's houſe, get 500 pagodas, which will be paid to 'you by Sunkoo Saſachella Chitty, to pay to Colapaukum 'Cundapah, as if it was ſent by Venaigum Moodely by 'Mr. Haliburton's deſire, to declare that Mr. Haliburton 'is a ſtranger, and that Paupiah has prevailed on him 'to accuſe Mr. Haliburton, or to run away with this 'money from the place; and that the ſaid man ſhould be 'taught to ſay, as if he was told by Venaigum Moodely, 'at Mr. Haliburton's deſire, that one thouſand pagodas 'more will be paid by that gentleman for doing either one 'or the other of the above buſineſſes.—The man who is to 'act on this occaſion muſt be encouraged from not enter-'taining any fear—you and Cundapah ſhould ſeize that 'man with the money, in ſuch a public manner as may be 'known to four others that Mr. Haliburton has ſent this 'money through Venaigum Moodely to Cundapah as a 'bribe, and bring the money to the governor, and complain 'to him of it: I will get Mr. Haliburton removed from the 'ſervice that inſtant.' Saumy replied, that he could not get ſuch a perſon, nor could he commit ſo bad an action. On this Vincatachillah Chitty told him—'This is a buſineſs 'of no conſequence, why do you fear for Mr. Haliburton, 'he is to be ſeized, and ſent onboard ſhip to Europe; I 'have done many buſineſſes of this nature, and got people to 'have effected ſuch things; I have people now with me

'proper for this buſineſs;' other words he alſo uſed to prevail on Cundapah. On the next night Vincatachillah Chitty ſettled, that Apajee Row, a Bramin, ſhould conduct the buſiueſs; and Saumy declares, that he got Saſachella Chitty to make him (Apajee Row) a preſent of 25 pagodas; then carried him to Venaigum Moodely's houſe, and ſhewed him the ſaid Venaigum. The next day Cundapah came to Saumy's houſe, and was talking when Apajee Row came, who delivered the maſſage as directed, and made a tender of the 500 pagodas as deſcribed by Cundapah. Saumy's account of the ſubſequent proceedings is exactly ſimilar to Cundapah's; and he concludes with declaring, that while in the conſultation room and interrogated, he was in great terror of Paupiah, and every thing he ſaid or did was the effect of that terror. On being ſhewn the handkerchief containing the pagodas, he declared that it was, to the beſt of his recollection, the ſame he had ſeen in the hands of Appajee Row, and offered to Cundapah.

The declarations of Cundapah and Saumy will be found in ſome parts to differ; but they are immaterial, and may have ariſen from the want of recollection of them after ſuch a lapſe of time: both however agree as to the manner practiſed to make them come forward as the accuſers of Mr. Haliburton, and alſo in the circumſtances of the plot intending to eſtabliſh the charge of ſuborning the perſons who gave evidence to retract their declarations.

We now deemed it expedient to examine Appeyingar and Vincatachillah Chitty, who appear to have taken ſo active a ſhare in the machinations formed againſt Mr. Haliburton. We accordingly made application to the board of revenue for Appeyingar; and inſtructions were ſent to Mr. Walter Balfour for ſending him hither.

In what manner to obtain the information of Vincatachillah Chitty was a point of ſome difficulty, of which your honourable board will be enabled to form a better judgment, when we relate to you the peculiar circumſtances under which this man is placed: He was formerly a dubaſh to an attorney; and in Lord Macartney's government, when ſerving Mr. Thomas Jones, his practices were ſo notoriouſly infamous, that at a ſpecial bench of juſtices, aſſembled on the 24th March 1784, by his lordſhip for the occaſion, Vincatachillah was ſentenced to receive corporal puniſhment,

puniſhment, and to be tomtomed out of the bounds, not to return: the original record of this proceeding has been loſt or purpoſely taken away; but we have ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the fact by the ſworn teſtimony of Mr. Thomas Chaſe, Appendix, N° 3. who was then, and is ſtill, clerk to the juſtices. Vincatachillah Chitty was alſo in two preſentments of the grand jury in the year 1784, of one of which Mr. George Moubray was foreman, and Mr. Cochrane the other, deſcribed in the firſt as 'a common barrater,' and in the ſecond as 'one who had publickly received 'corporal puniſhment for his mal-practices,' and was again employed in the practices of common barratry.

It is however apparent, that, in defiance of the ſentence of the bench of juſtices, and of the two preſentments, he continually appeared in Madras, and on many occaſions exerciſed that ſubtil ſpirit of intrigue ſo deſtructive of the peace of the ſociety in general, and which, while dubaſh to Mr. Thomas Jones, promoted barratry to a moſt unprecedented degree.

Some days had elapſed ere we had the good fortune to procure his appearance; which had ſcarcely been effected before Mr. Michell was waited on by Mr. James Stuart Hall, one of the attorneys at law, requiring the enlargement of Vincatachillah Chitty. We immediately met in committee, and had the honour to addreſs Mr. Secretary Jackſon on the occaſion; two days after which, you were pleaſed to commit him to the main guard.

Vincatachillah Chitty frequently appeared before us, but, deeply verſed as he is in the nature of evidence, and reſting his ſecurity on a pretended ignorance of the matters in queſtion, we could obtain no information from him, other than a poſitive and general denial of any circumſtances relating to Mr. Haliburton. Of a ſimilar tendency was alſo the teſtimony of Appeyingar; and we are concerned ſo much time was ſpent in endeavours to obtain information from perſons who, we are ſatisfied from ſtrong concurrent evidence, were in poſſeſſion of it, but who, conſcious of the part they had taken, reſiſted every effort to bring them to a voluntary confeſſion.

So circumſtanced with reſpect to theſe men, we adopted the only neceſſary alternative of confronting them with Colopaukum Cundapah and Inaveram Saumy, and who poſitively and unequivocally affirmed them to be the ſame

perſons deſcribed in their reſpective depoſitions, by the names of Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar, and that they were the identical men who had acted and adviſed as therein ſet forth.

It now became an object of importance to procure the attendance of Appajee Row; and being given to underſtand he was in one of the diſtricts of the ſouthern diviſion of the Arcot province, under a fictious name, we requeſted the board of revenue to take the neceſſary meaſures to this effect.

We truſt your honourable board will be pleaſed to keep in recollection, that Apajee Row was the man entruſted with the conduct of that part of the plot which related to the attempt of ſuborning Colopaukum Cundapah and Inaveram Saumy; and by the teſtimony of the latter it appears he was fixed upon for that charge by Vincatachillah Chitty; we conſequently deemed ourſelves fortunate, when we heard of his arrival at the preſidency, and particularly ſo, when he expreſſed his readineſs to declare every circumſtance he knew, and to ſwear to the truth thereof at the Triplicane Pagoda: he was accordingly deſired to commit to writing, in his native tongue, the matters he had to communicate, which being finiſhed, Mr. Michell ſaw him atteſt the ſame at Triplicane Pagoda, with the uſual ſolemnities.

As we conſider this man's teſtimony not only of great importance, ſo far as relates to Mr. Haliburton, but in ſome reſpects intereſting to the community at large, in ſhewing to what daring length Vincatachillah Chitty has carried his atrocious practices, we muſt ſolicit your honour's particular attention to it—the whole will appear in the Appendix, N° 4.

Apajee Row ſtates, that about September 1788, he arrived at Madras, and was made known, and recommended to Vincatachillah Chitty, by his friend Vencatrow; that for one year the former aſſiſted him with money; that in the months of February and March 1789 he was ſent for by Vincatachillah Chitty, who promiſed to give his recommendations for a good employment; that the day following he and Vencatrow were ſent for by Vincatachillah Chitty, and adorned with ear-rings, upper and under jummas, gold fringed faſh, ſhawl, &c. put into palanquins, and, attended with four or five badged peons, was directed to go to the Fort, and that if gentlemen aſked who he (Appajee Row)

Row) was, he was inſtructed to ſay that his name was Latchman Row, (a ſoucar) that he had a houſe in Madras, another at Triplicane, a third at Nagapatam, and a charity choultry at St. Thomé—that he had trade and money concerns from Hydrabad to Tanjore, and effects to the amount of 3,200,000 pagodas. In this manner he (Appaje Row) was leſſoned; and ſimilar inſtructions were given to Vencatrow, differing only in name, and in the avowal of greater property. After returning from the fort they were directed to come to Vincatachillah Chitty, at Mr. Floyer's garden. Appajee Row then proceeds to ſtate what paſſed in the fort, and afterwards with Vincatachillah Chitty, at the gardens before mentioned, where they were detained till gun-fire that night, there diſpoſſeſſed of their rings, jewels, &c. and diſpatched, under charge of two more, to Colatoor, diſtant about four coſs, with two pagodas each, for payment of their expences, and were deſired to ſtay there till again called on. The night of the following Monday they were again ſent for, and adorned as before, and ſent to the mayor's court, where Appajee Row deſcribes many Europeans to be ſitting; that, when in court, he (Appajee Row) ſigned himſelf Latchman Row, ſoucar, and Vencatrow ſigned himſelf Soobaron, ſoucar; they returned to Mr. Floyer's gardens, where they were ſtripped as before, and ſent on horſes, with one pagoda each, to Colatoor, where they remained ten days, and finding Vincatachillah Chitty made no enquiry about them, nor ſent to call them, they came to his houſe in Madras: his inſtructions being thereby diſregarded, Vincatachillah was much diſpleaſed, and threatened to withdraw his ſupport from them; on enquiry afterwards, Appajee Row ſtates, they learnt that a complaint had been made againſt Mr. Floyer, in the mayor's court, and that it was Vincatachillah Chitty's deſign to make them become ſecurity for him.

It does not appear that Appajee Row had any employment or ſupport from Vincatachillah Chitty for ſome time after this; but he ſtates that on the 19th of September 1789, a man, called Chinna Tamboo, came and told him that the Chitty, meaning Vincatachillah Chitty, had provided a ſervice for him, and required to ſee him—Appajee Row refuſed to go.—The next day the ſame perſon, with a ſervant of Paupiah's, came and told him, that the governor's dubaſh, Paupiah, and Vincatachillah Chitty, had ſent them to bring him, and he muſt therefore come; he declares that he

he was carried by force, and at Paupiah's houſe he ſaw Paupiah, his brother Ramaſaumy, Appeyingar, and Vincatachillah Chitty, converſing together; the latter, on ſeeing him, announced him to Paupiah; when Paupiah called and told him that Vincatachillah Chitty had ſtrongly recommended him, and he would ſpeak to Mr. Hollond, and procure for him the management of ſome diſtrict in the jaghire; that his maſter and he had an affair of the greateſt conſequence on hand, which they muſt accompliſh through his (Appajee Row's) means, and that he muſt perform it according to Vincatachillah Chitty's word, and thereby acquire his and his maſter's favour. Appajee Row, having aſked what the affair was, Paupiah entered into a very full detail of it; which being of a very ſingular nature, and tending greatly to a further elucidation of matters, we beg leave to ſtate to your honourable board:—Paupiah begun by obſerving that he and his maſter were endeavouring to ſet aſide the warachuttum, which Mr. Dighton had eſtabliſhed, and to reſtore the mamoul; Mr. Haliburton oppoſed it, and it was therefore neceſſary to diſmiſs him from the committee; and for this purpoſe he had cauſed a complaint to be made againſt him in council, by Colopaukum Cundapah and Inaveram Saumy; but as their teſtimony would not be ſufficient, his maſter had deſired him to ſupply it by ſome contrivance: for this buſineſs, ſaid Paupiah, I will give you 500 pagodas into your hand, and theſe you muſt give to Colopaukum Cundapah, who is at Inaveram Saumy's houſe, and ſay, Venaigum Moodely deſired me to give theſe 500 pagodas to you; the intention is this—A complaint has now been made againſt Mr. Haliburton, in council, on account of the tobacco mettoos; if you will ſay, that 'Mr. 'Haliburton is ignorant of this buſineſs, and that Paupiah 'has bribed you to make this falſe complaint, it is well; if 'not it is well that you run away, without proving the 'buſineſs before the council. Beſides theſe 500 pagodas 'Venaigum Moodely promiſes to procure a thouſand 'pagodas from Mr. Haliburton for you. After you have 'ſaid all this to Cundapah Moodely, and delivered the 'money, he (Cundapah) will ſeize you by the hand, take 'the money, and having procured four people as witneſſes, 'will take you to the governor's gardens: you muſt go 'without the leaſt fear, I ſhall make the governor ac-'quainted with all this before-hand. This buſineſs is of the

'greateſt importance to the governor, who will not for 'that reaſon make much enquiry about it. If you will do 'ſo much for me, I ſhall not want your aſſiſtance again, 'but ſhall be able to accompliſh the reſt of the buſineſs 'myſelf: I will deprive Mr. Haliburton of his place, ſeize 'him, put his hands and feet into irons, ſend him on board 'ſhip, and ſhove him off to England. After this, the 'buſineſs will ſucceed to the wiſhes of myſelf and my 'maſter; and for this I will procure you the management 'in one of the company's diſtricts, and will make you a 'preſent of 100 pagodas.'—Such was the communication of Paupiah to Appajee Row, and ſuch were the inſtructions given him to follow. Appajee Row expreſſed his fears to Paupiah, that this buſineſs could never be done by him, as he was unacquainted with the perſons of Venaigum, Cundapah, and Saumy; and alſo expreſſed a reluctance to undertake it. Upon this Paupiah aſked him, 'Why are you afraid on account of this trifling affair? 'As this buſineſs is of great importance to the governor 'and myſelf, we have prepared the complaint. If you will 'not undertake it, I will accompliſh it by the means of 'ſome other perſon. You are going to loſe what you 'ought to have acquired, and to be undeſerving my favour. 'If you will acept this buſineſs, I will take care to preſerve 'you from trouble.' Appajee Row ſtill perſevering in ſhewing a reluctance, Paupiah, it ſeems, flew into a violent paſſion, and exclaimed, 'What, do you refuſe to perform 'what I ſay? Even the rajah of Tanjore, and the nabob of 'Arcot, cannot diſpute my word; why then are you to 'diſpute my word? See, I will this inſtant ſpeak to the 'governor, and get you confined and puniſhed; for you 'came to the mayor's court to be Mr. Floyer's ſecurity, 'without having any houſes, poſſeſſions, or effects. You 'have made an attempt, the blame of which I will lay upon 'you, and procure the governor to puniſh you.' After this, Paupiah's brother, Ramaſaumy, endeavoured by ſoothing words to perſuade Appajee Row to conform to Paupiah's wiſhes. But to their perſuaſions he declares he did not liſten; and then Vincatachillah Chitty addreſſed him to the following effect: 'I have aſſured Paupiah that I would 'effect this buſineſs by your means; if, therefore, you will 'preſerve my engagement, and undertake it, he will this 'inſtant before your eyes ſend Mr. Haliburton on board

'ſhip.

'ſhip. You have no occaſion to be afraid; I will procure 'you the preſent, and management, according to his pro-'miſe. Truſt to my word, and undertake the buſineſs.'

Appajee Row, after all theſe threats and perſuaſions, declares he remained ſilent, or, in other words, we ſuppoſe, gave a negative conſent, becauſe on that evening Appeyingar called him and Cundapah, and carried them to the houſe of Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, where they found Vincatachillah Chitty; Appeyingar then took a handkerchief, with pagodas tied in it, and carried Cundapah and Appajee Row to Paupiah's houſe; Vincatachillah Chitty came there ſoon afterwards (at eight o'clock) and having obtained Paupiah's permiſſion, took him (Apajee Row) to make him acquainted with the face and perſon of Venaigum Moodely; and on the way to the houſe told him the mode in which he meant to do it; ſaying, 'Venaigum and I will 'ſpeak together in the ſtreet Payal; and in order that you 'may be acquainted with his face and perſon, I ſhall light 'the candle in my lanthorn, and keep it near. I ſhall 'give a paper into Venaigum's hands, into whoſoever hand 'I give the paper, you muſt mark him as Venaigum Moo-'dely.' This done, Vincatachillah Chitty and Apajee Row returned to Paupiah's houſe, when Paupiah, Ramaſaumy, Appeyingar, and Vincatachillah Chitty, ſat down, and ſaid to Apajee Row, 'If the gentlemen enquire what 'friendſhip there is between you and Venaigum Moodely, 'you muſt ſay, that you have been acquainted with him for 'four years; that he had promiſed to recommend you to 'ſome ſervice, and that he uſed to give you ſomething for 'your expences.' Appeyingar now counted out the pagodas, and told Paupiah that there were five hundred, tied them in the handkerchief, and, with Paupiah's leave, gave the bundle to Apajee Row, and the former ſent a man with him, to direct him to the houſe where Cundapah was: when he arrived there, he (Appajee Row) ſpoke to Cundapah and Saumy, according to the leſſon he had received; they then ſeized him, took the bundle of pagodas, made a noiſe in the ſtreet, that the proceeding might become public, and afterwards went to the governor's garden, where they found Paupiah waiting for them, who abuſed Apajee Row, and aſked him what he had been doing ſo many hours. Paupiah then took the bundle of pagodas from Cundapah, and told Appajee Row that he had acquainted the governor with all this

news,

news, that he had nothing to fear, and muſt be eaſy in mind; and afterwards they all went up ſtairs to Mr. John Hollond. Paupiah brought pen, ink, and paper, and interpreted what Appajee Row ſaid, which he declares was the ſame information that Paupiah had previouſly inſtructed him to give; and being deſired to ſign it, he did ſo. Paupiah then deſired Cundapah and Saumy to write in Malabar what they had to declare, and deliver it to him, with their ſignatures; obſerving, that if he did not obtain their declarations in writing, they might probably make ſome deviation the next day, when the gentlemen made enquiry, and that the buſineſs in that caſe would be ruined; therefore he took it in writing, to put into Engliſh, as afterwards nobody would enquire of them. They were then put in charge of the body guard, and continued there that night, and all the next day, Paupiah ſending to them frequently aſſurances, leſt they ſhould be frightened, and confeſs the fact. On the 21ſt September 1789 they were brought to the government houſe in the Fort Square, and Paupiah, with two other dubaſhes, went up ſtairs, and interpreted. An oath was adminiſtered to Apajee Row, although he declares he did not ſwallow the holy water put into his hands. When he came out of the room, Paupiah accompanied him, and exexpreſſed great ſatisfaction at his behaviour; he then returned to the room again, and ſome time afterwards the council broke up, but Paupiah and the governor continued ſpeaking together. On the 22d September 1789, at night, Appeyingar brought Apajee Row forty pagodas, and in a very earneſt manner deſired him to leave Madras. Apajee Row took the money, and went to the ſouthward, from whence he did not return till March 1792, when he was informed by Vincatachillah Chitty, that a committee, meaning the preſent committee, was ſitting, to inveſtigate the former proceedings againſt Mr. Haliburton; and that he (Vincatachillah Chitty) would be ruined if he remained at Madras, and that he muſt therefore leave it that minute. Vincatachillah Chitty procured a letter of recommendation from Mr. Moubray's dubaſh, Saumy Naido, to Moongiapah, Mr. Floyer's dubaſh, at Chillumbrum, under the new name of Ramchunder Row: after this he gave Apajee Row a pagoda for his expences, with directions to go to Cuddalore, where he remained an expectant of Moongiapah Moodelly. In this place it may not be unworthy of remark,

mark, that Appajee Row, for different purpoſes, aſſumed various names, and all which he alledges to have been at the inſtance of Vincatachillah Chitty, as follows—In Mr. Floyer's buſineſs he appeared under the name of Letchman Row, ſoucar; in the plot againſt Mr. Haliburton, by the name of Appajee Row; and when he went to Cuddalore, by the name of Rama Chunder Row;—and his own proper name is Renoo Row.

On the 3d May laſt, it appears that Vincatachillah Chitty's man, named Chinna Tomboo, went to Appajee Row, at Cuddalore, and ſaid 'The company have ſeized 'Vincatachillah Chitty, and put him into the guard; they 'have alſo ſent for Appeyingar; two of the committee's peons 'have ſet off to find out and bring you; if, upon falling into 'their hands, you confeſs the truth, Paupiah, Rama Saumy, 'Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar will be ruined: the 'Chitty has therefore ſent me to carry you into Tippoo's 'country, above the Ghauts, and he has alſo ſent five pa-'godas for your expences.' He then gave Appajee Row the pagodas, and told him not to ſtay one moment longer, but to ſet off immediately. While, however, they were expoſtulating together, the revenue peons came up; when Vincatachillah Chitty's peon ran away, and Appajee Row proceeded to Madras, under charge of the revenue peon.

Suncoo Chinna Kiſtnama Chitty, late renter of the beetle and tobacco farm, at our deſire, gave in his declaration (Appendix, No. 5.) in writing, of the circumſtances relative to the removal of Mr. Haliburton, which came to his knowledge, and were within his recollection; the moſt material part of which relate to the endeavours uſed by Paupiah to make him come forward and charge Mr. Haliburton with having been the cauſe of inciting the inhabitants to oppoſe the extenſion of the beetle limits, and to deſtroy the mettoos.

At this ſtage of our enquiry we received an application from Mr. Haliburton to peruſe the various depoſitions we had taken; which we thought proper to ſubmit to your honourable board; obſerving that a compliance with it might accelerate the iſſue of our inveſtigations; and having communicated to Mr. Haliburton your acquieſcence in his requeſt, he ſhortly after informed us, that on peruſal of the papers in queſtion, he did not find occaſion to put any queſtions to the witneſſes we had examined, but requeſted that

that Mr. Secretary White, the two interpreters, Anna Saumy and Shumagoroy, might be required to attend our committee, that they might anſwer certain interrogatories which he had to propoſe. The parties attended accordingly; and their evidences, reſpectively atteſted upon oath, appear in the Appendix, Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

If, honourable ſir, any thing were yet wanting to eſtabliſh the fact of the wicked combination and intrigue againſt Mr. Haliburton, we ſhould only reſort to the clear and deciſive teſtimony of Mr. Secretary White, who was preſent at all the examinations taken in the conſultation room, and the impulſe of whoſe feelings at thoſe proceedings was with much difficulty reſtrained.

We have led your honourable board through a long detail of evidence; we have brought to your view the riſe, and have traced the progreſs, of the conſpiracy formed again Mr. Haliburton; and we have expoſed a ſcene of iniquity, which may have been equalled, but none, we believe, that was ever more completely detected. We have ſhewn alſo the cauſes which occaſioned the removal of Mr. Haliburton from his ſeat at the board of revenue, and from the office of Perſian tranſlator; and a full diſcovery is now before you, of the purpoſes for which it was pretended attempts had been made to ſuborn the perſons who gave evidence at the two preceding conſultations, to retract their declarations.

It muſt alſo be remembered, that the perſons to whoſe aſſiſtance we principally owe the ſucceſs of our inveſtigations, are thoſe men who were choſen as the inſtruments for carrying the wicked deſigns of the principals into effect, and who, on this occaſion, having voluntarily atteſted to the truth of their declarations, in a manner held the moſt ſacred and binding amongſt the natives; it may therefore be a juſt inference to preſume, that they are actuated now by a juſt deſire to make atonement for their paſt conduct, by a full and ample diſcovery of the whole plot.

The reſult of our enquiries, honourable ſir, evinces a melancholy inſtance, that where ambition, intereſt, or reſentment is the ruling paſſion, with natives poſſeſſed of power, no innate principles of honour and integrity, if ſuch ever exiſted, will reſtrain them from having recourſe to every artifice, however wicked, for the accompliſhment of their deſigns.

On the preſent occaſion we have ſeen that leſs has been effected through force of money, than by influence and fear; which operating on the weak and puſillanimous minds of the lower claſs of natives, is alone ſufficient to make them become the paſſive inſtruments in forwarding the baſeſt deſigns, as in the caſe of Mr. Haliburton, calculated to deprive a gentleman of honourable public ſtation, and to fix a ſtigma on his private moral character.

The authors and promoters of the plot formed againſt Mr. Haliburton we have traced and happily diſcovered, and we now beg leave to hold them up to your view in the perſons of Paupiah, Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar, as alſo of Ramy Saumy, the brother of Paupiah, though in a leſſer degree of criminality; and when we reflect that the offence imputed to Mr. Haliburton, of ſubornation of evidence, is in itſelf of ſo heinous a nature, that to the puniſhments preſcribed by our own laws, is added that of perpetual infamy, we doubt not that the criminal proceedings in which thoſe men have been concerned will draw on them the ſevereſt and moſt exemplary puniſhment in the power of government to inflict, as a diſcouragement to ſuch heinous practices in future, otherwiſe it may be juſtly apprehended, that no public characters, not exempting thoſe in the higheſt ſtations, will be ſafe, but be expoſed to the deepeſt injuries, through the contrivances of intriguing men, whoſe paſſions, uncontrouled by either reaſon or principle, will carry them to the moſt unjuſtifiable and moſt atrocious lengths for the attainment of their wicked purpoſes. We indeed ſubmit to you, honourable ſir, the expediency of baniſhing them from the coaſt, or at leaſt Vincatachillah Chitty, who has ſo long a time been under the ſentence of expulſion from the ſettlement, but who, in open defiance of it, and, as before ſtated, of the preſentments of the grand jury againſt him, has remained in Madras; and it is too generally known has continued to exerciſe that intriguing and baneful ſpirit, ſo fatal to the welfare of ſociety at large, that we do not heſitate to give it as our opinion, that he will ever be a dangerous perſon in a community.

If, on this occaſion, honourable ſir, our reflections may have led us beyond the ſtrict line of our duty, we truſt in your candid judgment we ſhall ſtand excuſed. It is a matter in which the public reputation of a fellow ſervant

vant is deeply intereſted, and we are not without hopes, that the reſult of our inveſtigations, ſo far at leaſt as it expoſes the baſe artifices of the natives, will be for the advantage of the public in general, and the ſervice in particular.

In the courſe of our enquiry we have been ſubjected to ſome trifling expences, as per accompanying ſtatement, amounting to pagodas 38. 3, which we requeſt you will cauſe to be reimburſed.

We have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Honourable Sir,

Fort St. George,
28th June 1792.

Your moſt obedient and
faithful ſervants,

HENRY CHICHLEY MICHELL.
DANIEL INCE.
CHARLES BAKER.

True Copy,

ROBERT CLERK, Dep. Sec.

The TRIAL.

AT a general court of quarter ſeſſions of the peace, holden at the town hall in Fort St. George, on Wedneſday the eleventh day of July, in the year of our Lord 1792;

Before the honourable major general William Medows, preſident, Sir Charles Oakley, baronet, and Erneſt William Fallowfield, Eſquire, juſtices aſſigned to keep the peace, and alſo commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, and general Gaol Delivery, for the town of Madraſpatnam, garriſon of Fort Saint George, and its dependencies.

The court being duly opened, the ſheriff returns his precepts; and the following gentlemen are then ſworn on the grand jury:

ANDREW Ross, Eſquire, Foreman.
Honourable Baſil Cockrane,
William Oram,
George Wynch,
Thomas Kingſcote,
William Hawkins,
Thomas Cockburne,
Joſeph Greenhill,
Joſiah Webb,
Lionel Place,
Charles Baker,
Cecil Smith,
John Hugh Donnel Ogilvie,
John Read,
John Jervis,
Hugh Boyd,
Lawrence Bowden.

The clerk of the peace delivers to the grand jury a bill of indictment againſt Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, for conſpiracy.

One of the gentlemen of the grand jury came into court, to ſee the following witneſſes ſworn upon the ſaid indictment:

David Haliburton; Colopaukum Cundapah, Saumy, of Agnoveram; Renoo Row, otherwiſe called Appajee Row; Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty; and Charles Nicholas White.

After ſome time the grand jury came into court, and delivered in the bill of indictment, indorſed 'A 'true bill;' the priſoners are thereupon put to the bar, and arraigned as follows:

Clerk of the Peace.—Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, hold up your right hands.

You ſtand indicted, by the names of Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, then of Madraſpatnam aforeſaid, being perſons of evil name and fame, and of diſhoneſt converſation, and wickedly deviſing and intending unjuſtly to deprive David Haliburton, Eſquire, ſenior merchant in the ſervice of the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, and under the preſidency of Fort Saint George, within the juriſdiction of this court, of his good name, credit, and reputation, and alſo to ſubject the ſaid David Haliburton, without any juſt cauſe, to the loſs of the ſtations of member of the board of revenue and Perſian tranſlator, which he then held under the ſaid preſidency

of

of Fort Saint George, at ſeveral days and times, in the months of May, June, July, Auguſt, and September, which were in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord George the Third, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and ſo forth, and in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, at Madraſpatnam aforeſaid, among yourſelves did conſpire, combine, and agree falſely to charge and accuſe the ſaid David Haliburton of divers offences and miſdoings, contrary to his duty, as a ſervant of the ſaid united company; and the jurors aforeſaid, upon their oath aforeſaid, do further preſent, that you the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, afterwards, to wit, on the fifteenth day of September, in the year aforeſaid, at Madraſpatnam aforeſaid, according to the conſpiracy, combination, and agreement between you, at the ſeveral illegal meetings as aforeſaid had and held, did falſely and unlawfully excite and encourage Colopaukum Cundapah, then of Madraſpatnam aforeſaid, and one Saumy, of Agnoveram, to charge and accuſe the ſaid David Haliburton of divers offences and miſdoings, and to ſubſcribe their names to a written paper or petition, containing, among other things, an accuſation againſt the ſaid David Haliburton, for that he the ſaid David Haliburton had adviſed the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah, and Saumy of Agnoveram, to pull down certain choukeys or cuſtom-houſes, erected by Suncoo Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, renter of the beetle and tobacco farm, and to commit ſuch diſturbances as to bring a complaint before the committee, he the ſaid David Haliburton promiſing in that caſe to exert the utmoſt of his power for removing the ſaid

choukeys, and declaring that the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah, and Saumy of Agnoveram, relying on ſuch promiſe of the ſaid David Haliburton, had pulled down the ſaid choukeys; and further, that you the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Rama Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar, did excite and encourage them the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah, and Saumy of Agnoveram, to preſent the ſaid written paper or petition to John Hollond, Eſquire, the governor of Fort Saint George, and preſident of the council thereof; and further, that you the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, did encourage and excite the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah, and Saumy of Agnoveram, to go before the ſaid John Hollond, preſident of the council of Fort Saint George aforeſaid, and on the twenty-ſecond day of the ſaid month of September, in the ſaid year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, and then and there falſely declare, on their reſpective oaths, that one Venaigum Moodely had ſent, on behalf of a gentleman, meaning the ſaid David Haliburton, to Colapaukum Cundapah, at the houſe of Saumy of Agnoveram, on the nineteenth day of the ſaid month of September, the ſum of five hundred pagodas, by the hands of Appajee Row Bramin, under a promiſe to give the ſaid Cundapah five hundred pagodas more, if he would retract the declaration, ſo given before the ſaid John Hollond and his council, on the ſaid fifteenth day of the ſaid month of September. And the jurors aforeſaid, upon their oath aforeſaid, do further preſent, that the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and

† Appeyingar

Appeyingar Bramin, did further, on the nineteenth day of the ſaid month of September, encourage, excite, and perſuade one Renoo Row, otherwiſe called Appajee Row, to ſupport and maintain certain falſe charges and accuſations, tending to injure the ſaid David Haliburton, and amongſt other things the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin did, on the ſaid nineteenth of the ſaid month of September, in the year aforeſaid, deſire the ſaid Renoo Row, otherwiſe called Appajee Row, by threats and encouragement, to carry five hundred pagodas to Colapaukum Cundapah Moodely; ſaying, that he the ſaid Renoo Row, otherwiſe called Appajee Row, was deſired by Venaigum Moodely to give it to him the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah, if he the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah would retract the petition he had given to the council, on the ſaid fifteenth day of September, in the ſaid year, and ſay, that Mr. Haliburton, meaning the ſaid David Haliburton, was ignorant of the buſineſs; and that accordingly, on the ſaid nineteenth day of the ſaid month of September, he, the ſaid Renoo Row, otherwiſe called Appajee Row, at the houſe of the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, (when and where the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, were preſent,) did receive, at the hands of the ſaid Appeyingar Bramin, the ſum of five hundred pagodas, in an handkerchief, and did accordingly, as he was directed and adviſed by the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, carry the above ſum of five hundred pagodas to the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah, on the nineteenth day of the ſaid

month of September, at the houſe of the ſaid Saumy of Agnoveram, he the ſaid Saumy being then and there preſent, and then and there did deliver the meſſage to the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah, as he had been inſtructed to do by the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin. The jurors aforeſaid, upon their oath aforeſaid, do further preſent, that you the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, did encourage, excite, and perſuade the ſaid Renoo Row, otherwiſe called Appajee Row, to come, on the 22d day of the ſaid month of September, before John Hollond, Eſquire, preſident, and James Henry Caſamajor, and Edward John Hollond, members of the council of Fort Saint George, and forming the government thereof, and did make a falſe declaration to them, that he had been ſent, on the nineteenth day of the ſaid month, by one Venaigum Moodely, on the part of a gentleman, meaning the ſaid David Haliburton, with five hundred pagodas, ſo received by him the ſaid Renoo Row, otherwiſe called Appajee Row, at the hands of the ſaid Appeyingar Bramin, and with a promiſe of five hundred pagodas more, to induce him the ſaid Colapaukum Cundapah to retract from the declaration he had given on the ſaid fifteenth day of September againſt the ſaid David Haliburton, although he the ſaid Renoo Row, otherwiſe called Appajee Row, knew the ſame to be falſe and maliciouſly contrived by the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, with a view to draw upon him the ſaid David Haliburton the cenſure of the ſaid John Hollond, James Henry Caſamajor, and Edward John

John Hollond, as the government of Fort Saint George aforeſaid, and thereby ſubject the ſaid David Haliburton to the loſs of the ſtations he held as member of the board of revenue, and Perſian tranſlator. And the jurors aforeſaid, upon their oath aforeſaid, do further preſent, that you the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, by reaſon of their conſpiracy aforeſaid, did cauſe and occaſion that the ſaid John Hollond, James Henry Caſamajor, and Edward John Hollond, then forming the government of Fort Saint George aforeſaid, on behalf of the ſaid united company, on the grounds of the falſe charges ſo as aforeſaid made againſt the ſaid David Haliburton, on the thirtieth day of the ſaid month of September, and in the ſaid year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, remove the ſaid David Haliburton from his ſaid ſtations of member of the board of revenue, and Perſian tranſlator, by which conſpiracy as aforeſaid, of the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin; and the removal of the ſaid David Haliburton as aforeſaid, he the ſaid David Haliburton hath been grievouſly injured and oppreſſed. Which actings and doings of the ſaid Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, were to the damage and diſgrace of the ſaid David Haliburton, to the evil example of all others in the like caſe offending, and againſt the peace of our ſaid lord the king, his crown, and dignity.

How ſay you, Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, are you guilty of the conſpiracy whereof you ſtand indicted, or not guilty?

Priſoner. Not guilty.

Clerk of the peace. How ſay you, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, are you guilty of the conſpiracy whereof you ſtand indicted, or not guilty?

Priſoner. Not guilty.

Clerk of the peace. How ſay you, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, are you guilty of the conſpiracy whereof you ſtand indicted, or not guilty?

Priſoner. Not guilty.

Clerk of the peace. How ſay you, Appeyingar Bramin, are you guilty of the conſpiracy whereof you ſtand indicted, or not guilty?

Priſoner. Not guilty.

At the requeſt of Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, Mr. James Stuart Hall is admitted by the court as his council; Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, and Appeyingar Bramin, requeſt that Mr. John Wilkinſon be admitted as their council.—The court refuſe the application, as Mr. John Wilkinſon was not admitted to plead in the court; but the court inform the priſoners, they may have the option of any gentleman who has the authority of the court to plead therein.

All the priſoners then pray leave 'till the next ſeſſions to traverſe; which is over-ruled, and the priſoners are informed that their trial will come on the next day; and if they will give in the names of any witneſſes they wiſh to call, the court will order the ſheriff to ſummon them.

The priſoners pray to have half the jury natives.—Refuſed, as being granted only when the offence is capital.

The

The following gentlemen are then ſworn upon the petit jury, the priſoners not having any objections to any of them.

Mr. WILLIAM JONES, Foreman,

James Brodie,	Thomas Stephens,
Michael Topping,	Peter Maſſey Caſſin,
John Tulloh,	John Hall,
Henry Sewell,	Hugh Jones,
Francis Latour,	Philip Mannington,

Paul Bonifas.

Clerk of the peace. Gentlemen of the jury, look upon the priſoners, and hearken unto their cauſe: You ſhall know that they ſtand indicted by the names of Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, then of Madras aforeſaid (here the indictment is read as in the arraignment); upon which indictment they have been arraigned, and thereunto have pleaded not guilty: Your charge is therefore to enquire whether they are guilty of the conſpiracy whereof they ſtand indicted, or not guilty, and hear your evidence.

DAVID HALIBURTON, called and ſworn.

From the time that Mr. John Hollond ſucceeded to the government of Fort Saint George, in February one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, and that his brother Mr. Edward John Hollond came in council, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Moubray, and myſelf, who then formed the board of revenue, obſerved a diſpoſition in government, I mean the majority of that government, to thwart all the meaſures of the board of revenue, and to find fault with them on ſeveral occaſions, as the records will ſhew; it was perfectly underſtood by all claſſes of natives,

natives, that a diſagreement ſubſiſted between government, and the gentlemen who compoſed the board of revenue, but particularly myſelf; and the idea was very much encouraged by Avadaunum Paupiah, the dubaſh of Meſſieurs John and Edward John Hollond, who took care on all occaſions to repreſent his maſter's power, and of courſe his own (his influence over his maſters being perfectly notorious) as paramount to any acts that might paſs from an inferior board. In February or March one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, a petition was ſent to the board of revenue from certain perſons, amongſt whom was Appeyingar, one of the priſoners at the bar, praying that a fixed waroo chuttum (a ſtandard for the diviſion of the government and cultivator's ſhares of the various crops in the jaghire, and eſtabliſhed by the board of revenue, at the recommendation of Mr. Dighton, the ſuperintendant of the jaghire, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſix) ſhould be aboliſhed, and that another diviſion, more favourable to the petitioners, ſhould be ſubſtituted; but the board did not think proper to alter it. In the following May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, the government wrote a letter to the board of revenue, propoſing the expediency of altering the fixed waroo chuttum, eſtabliſhed in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſix. The board of revenue on this occaſion alſo were unanimouſly of opinion that it would not be expedient, and gave their reaſons at large on their proceedings, for the juſtice of the ſtandard eſtabliſhed in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſix, which had never been complained againſt before. In May or June one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, government informed the board of revenue,

nue, that they had been pleaſed to extend the limits of the beetle and tobacco farm to ten miles round Madras. About this time a petition was received by the board of revenue, from ſeveral hundred inhabitants, complaining of the extenſion ordered; in conſequence of which, ſenſible of the hardſhips that would be impoſed upon theſe people, they recommended to government to allow the renter a deduction in his rent, to the amount he valued his advantages by the extenſion, rather than to purſue a meaſure which was conſidered as grievous and oppreſſive to the people: the remonſtrance, however, of the board of revenue, had no effect, for the limits were extended according to their order, and choukeys or cuſtom-houſes were erected to the diſtance of ten miles. Nothing more came before the board of revenue on this ſubject, after that time; but on the twenty-fifth or twenty-ſixth day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, I received the followed letter, which I now deliver into court.

Letter read by the Clerk of the Peace, as follows.

To Mr. David Haliburton.

Sir,

A petition having been delivered in to government by Cundapah, inhabitant of Colipauk, and Saumy, of Agnoveram, repreſenting as follows: 'That Suncoo Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, renter 'of beetle and tobacco farm, has by order of go- 'vernment extended the limits of the mettoo or 'choukies as far as ten miles; your petitioners, 'and ſome other inhabitants, came to the fort, to 'make a complaint; Mr. Haliburton, who was 'then in the fort ſquare, called your petitioners, 'and told them, that your petitioners are ignorant

'and

'and ſenſeleſs people, and if they will take advice, 'this buſineſs will be effected. Your petitioners 'readily agreed to acquieſce to his counſel; upon 'which Mr. Haliburton told them that the preſent 'order for extending the limits of the mettoos or 'choukies as far as ten miles, has been given only by 'the governor, againſt the pleaſure of his committee, 'and if your petitioners can pull off the choukies 'or huts now extended, and commit ſuch diſturb-'ances, ſo as the complaint may be brought to 'the committee, he promiſed to exert to the utmoſt 'of his power for removing the choukies; your 'petitioners, relying on his promiſe, pulled off the 'mettoos or choukeys:' I am therefore directed to acquaint you, the ſame is now communicated to you, in order that you may have an opportunity of replying to what has been ſtated with reſpect to your interference.

I am, Sir,

Fort St. George, Your moſt obedient ſervant,
24th Sept. 1789. CHA^{S} N. WHITE,
Examined, DAN^{L} INCE. Secry.

With the information which I then poſſeſſed, and which proved afterwards to be true, I thought it rather extraordinary that there ſhould have been depoſitions before the governor and council, by theſe men, Cundapah and Saumy, and a variety of other information given at the board, relative to this complaint, without being communicated to me in that letter of the twenty-fourth September; for it will be found that moſt of the informations had been taken on the twenty-ſecond September, previous to the date of this letter. I was informed that meetings had been held at the houſe of Paupiah to concert a ſcheme againſt me: at this diſtance of time

time it is impoſſible to recollect who theſe people were who gave me the information, but I was perfectly convinced at the time that it was true; I only remember that the beetle renter himſelf, Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, came to my garden-houſe very early in the morning, about the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of September, and informed me, that there was a ſcheme concerted to remove me from the board of revenue, and he mentioned the names of the four priſoners at the bar; but he would tell me no more, from his dread and apprehenſion of Paupiah, who had the authority of the place over the natives; and it was to this I alluded in my letter to government on the twenty-eighth of September, in anſwer to the letter of the twenty-fourth of September; in which letter, after denying the whole charge, I ſaid it was a fabrication of men who wiſhed to injure my character, and deprive me of my ſituation in the ſervice. But the moſt remarkable part of the plot, and on which Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty did not chooſe to ſpeak to me, was with regard to the five hundred pagodas, which I was afterwards informed the four priſoners had contrived to ſend by a Bramin, to whom they choſe to give, on that occaſion, the name of Appajee Row, whoſe real name, however, is Renoo Row, as has been diſcovered within theſe few days; which money they ſent by Appajee Row to Colopaukum Cundapah, as if it came from Venaigum, as on my part. At the ſame time Colapaukum Cundapah, being privy to the ſcheme tending to charge me with ſubornation of perjury, in wiſhing Cundapah to retract from the information he had before given to the board, on the 30th of September I was ſummoned to attend the conſultation room; and this is an extract of the minutes

nutes of conſultation which paſſed on that occaſion.

Extract from the Minutes of Conſultation, 30th September 1789.

Mr. Haliburton attends, agreeable to the reſolution of yeſterday's conſultation.

Having applied for a committee to be appointed, Mr. Haliburton is informed, that the board are ready to enter into any further enquiry on the ſubject, and that he will be at liberty to croſs-examine any perſon, or to produce any other witneſs or evidence relative to the repreſentations againſt him.

Mr. Haliburton replies, that he made application for a committee to be appointed, and if his requeſt cannot be complied with, he wiſhes to decline further proceedings in the matter; declaring likewiſe, that he is ready to affirm on oath, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that what has been alledged againſt him is falſe and a fabrication. Mr. Haliburton is then deſired to withdraw.

The preſident obſerves, he is ſo fully ſenſible of Mr. Haliburton's miſconduct in this buſineſs, that he propoſes Mr. Haliburton ſhould be removed from his offices at this preſidency, and appointed paymaſter at Chunderghurry.

Mr. Edward John Hollond is of opinion, that Mr. Haliburton ſhould be appointed paymaſter at Chunderghurry, as propoſed by the preſident.

Mr. Caſamajor does not think the fact of Mr. Haliburton's miſconduct is eſtabliſhed; it is only from the aſſertions of Cundapah and Saumy that it can be eſtabliſhed, and he has already recorded his ſentiments of the inſufficiency of the evidence given by theſe perſons. Mr. Caſamajor cannot, therefore, concur in the removal of Mr. Haliburton from

from the presidency; and he conceives the proceedings are informal, on reference to the instructions contained in the general letters from the court of directors, dated 14th January and 13th April 1774.

Comp. S. FALCONER, Exr.

A true extract; ROBERT CLERK, Dep. Sec.

I shall here inform the court, that my reasons for refusing to acquiesce in the enquiry being gone into before council, as proposed, was, that I had a conviction in my mind that Messieurs John Hollond and Edward John Hollond, composing the majority of council at that time, were parties in the business, but rather submitted to the hardship which I knew would be temporary.

The next day I received my letter of appointment to Chunderghurry, which I deliver into court. Read as follows:

To Mr. DAVID HALIBURTON.

Sir,

I am directed by government to inform you, that they have thought proper to appoint you to be paymaster at Chunderghurry, by which your office of a member of the revenue board, and that of Persian translator, are vacated; you are in consequence to deliver over to Mr. Joseph Garrow the charge of the office of Persian translator, who has been appointed to succeed you in that department. I am further directed to desire you will proceed to your station at Chunderghurry with all convenient expedition.

I am, Sir,

Fort St. George, 30th Sept. 1789.

Your most obedient servant, CHA. N. WHITE, Sec.

The court of directors were pleaſed, on the firſt view of the proceedings, to reſtore me to my former appointments.

The counſel for the priſoner Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, objected to the hearſay evidence which implicates him, particularly about the five hundred pagodas.—Objection over-ruled by the court.

The other three priſoners pray the ſame right of objection, which is alſo over-ruled.

Counſel for Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty aſked for the production of papers before entered. —Granted.

Queſtion by the priſoner Paupiah. Was any perſon preſent at the converſation between you and Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty?

Anſwer. No.

Queſtion. What reaſon had you to ſay, I had ſuch influence over Meſſrs. Hollonds, as to be paramount to that of any inferior board?

Anſwer. It was the general opinion. It will be proved in the courſe of the trial, Paupiah was preſent at moſt, if not all the meetings of council, when the enquiry took place, No other governor's private dubaſh had ever been preſent before the council, eſpecially where there was an interpreter; it of courſe appeared, therefore, that he had a ſuperior influence over his maſter.

Queſtion. You ſay we were all preſent when we contrived to ſend the five hundred pagodas by Appajee Row to Colapaukum Cundapah. How do you know that, as you ſay you have forgot who told you ſo?

Anſwer. It will be proved in the courſe of the trial.

Queſtion. Recollect when and where you were ſo informed; was it at one time or often?

Anſwer.

Anſwer. I cannot charge my memory at preſent.

Queſtion. After the beginning of the enquiry, whereof Mr. Michell was a member, reſpecting this buſineſs, were you not at Omdal Ul Omrah's gardens?

Anſwer. Yes, I have been there with the leave of Sir Charles Oakley. The committee has been appointed about five or ſix months.

Queſtion. Did you meet Cundapah, Saumy, and Appajee Row there at different times?

Anſwer. No, I never met them there at all, neither ſeparately or together.

Queſtion. Did you ever meet them at any other place or places?

Anſwer. Yes, frequently.

Queſtion. Relate all that paſſed between you and them about this buſineſs.

Anſwer. A man of the name of Audy Narrain, a bramin, in the ſervice of the nabob, came to me one day, and told me that thoſe men, Colapaukum Cundapah and Ayneveram Saumy, had been ſummoned to attend the committee, and that they had committed ſo great a crime towards me, they did not know what puniſhment might be inflicted on them; and, in ſhort, were full of contrition for what they had done. I told Audy Narrain, that a committee had been appointed by government to enquire into this affair, and however great the injury they had done me, by the falſe oaths they had taken, I was diſpoſed to forgive them as far as reſted with me; but they muſt tell the truth, whatever it might be, before the committee, and keep nothing concealed. Audy Narrain went and told what I ſaid; and upon that aſſurance one of them, Cundapah, came to me, and afterwards Saumy. They fell at my feet, and implored forgiveneſs for

the crime they had committed, and told me, in general terms, the manner in which they had been induced, by threats from Paupiah, to take a falſe oath againſt me. I told them they muſt go to Mr. Michell.

Queſtion. Are you ſure you never ſent for theſe people, or did they come voluntarily of themſelves?

Anſwer. As I underſtood from Audy Narrain, they came voluntarily to him. I did not ſend for them.

Queſtion. Have any other perſon or perſons been at your garden, from Omdal Ul Omrah's, on account of this buſineſs?

Anſwer. Not expreſsly on this buſineſs.

Queſtion. Declare what they ſaid on this buſineſs.

Anſwer. Ram Row, the duvan of Omdal Ul Omrah, came and paid me one viſit, in which he mentioned a buſineſs in which Paupiah had been immediately concerned with him about an arreſt he had againſt him, and alſo to ſpeak in favour of a man, Cawl Ram, a ſoucar, whom Paupiah had uſed very ill, and in the courſe of converſation Ram Row told me to the ſame purport I have juſt related, that thoſe men, Cundapah and Saumy, had come to him, or Audy Narrain, and expreſſed their ſorrow for what they had done againſt me.

ROBERT CLERK, Sub-ſecretary, ſworn.

He ſays he was ſub-ſecretary in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine; that the paper he delivers is the tranſlation of the petition of Saumy and Cundapah, by Anna Saumy; the original is not in the office. I ſaw it in the council room when the buſineſs was going on.

To the Honourable JOHN HOLLOND, Eſquire,
Preſident and Governor of Fort St. George.

The Petition of SAUMY of Ayneveram, and
CUNDAPAH of Colapauk.

That Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, renter of beetle and tobacco farm, has, by order of government, extended the limits of mettoos or choukies as far as ten miles; your petitioners and ſome other inhabitants came to the fort, to make a complaint; Mr. Haliburton, who was then in the fort-ſquare, called your petitioners, and told them, that your petitioners are ignorant and ſenſeleſs people; and that if they will take his advice, their buſineſs will be effected. Your petitioners readily agreed to acquieſce to his counſel; upon which Mr. Haliburton told, that the preſent order for extending the limits of the mettoos or choukeys as far as ten miles has been given only by the governor againſt the pleaſure of his committee; and if your petitioners can pull off the choukeys or huts now extended, and commit ſuch diſturbances, ſo as the complaint may be brought to the committee, he promiſed to exert to the utmoſt of his power for removing the choukeys. Your petitioners, relying upon his promiſe, pulled off the mettoos or choukeys.

A true tranſlation, as near as can be, from the original in Malabar language.
ANNA SAUMY, Tranſlator.

CUNDAPAH.
SAUMY.

The letter of David Haliburton, which I deliver, is, I believe, the original letter he ſent into council.

To the Honourable JOHN HOLLOND, Eſquire, Governor in Council.

Honourable Sir,

After a ſervice of near twenty years in this eſtabliſhment, during the greateſt part of which I have held the confidential ſtation of Perſian tranſlator, and alſo been employed as a member of the late committee of aſſigned revenue, and of the preſent board of revenue, you will eaſily conceive the mortification I muſt feel in being called upon to anſwer the repreſentation ſtated in your ſecretary's letter to me of the 26th inſtant.

The improbability of what is therein recited, muſt, I truſt, be evident, on the ſmalleſt conſideration of the ſubject; for it cannot ſurely for a moment be ſuſpected, that after the determination of your honourable board to ſupport the beetle renter in his claim was ſo well known, and after I had, as a member of the board of revenue, obeyed your order on the ſubject, I could in ſo improper a manner have taken the futile method repreſented to you in oppoſing a reſolution of government.

With reſpect to the petitioners, I am told Saumy has not the leaſt knowledge of the Engliſh language, and is therefore guilty of a palpable and glaring falſehood, in aſſerting various circumſtances to have been ſpoken by me, and which he could not underſtand. Cundapah, the other petitioner, is ſaid to be a perſon of notorious bad character; but to ſhew the futility of his motive, I need only mention, that he is an inhabitant of the village of Colapaukum, ſituated beyond the preſent extended limits of the beetle farmer, and of courſe could not be affected by that meaſure; yet, inconſiſtent and improbable as the whole of their ſtory appears at firſt

firſt ſight, as I have been informed from public report, that they have both ſworn to the truth of it before your honourable board, it is a duty I owe to myſelf and to the community at large, to ſolicit an inveſtigation of it, the more ſo, as I have the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe theſe two men are merely the inſtruments of others, who have acted with a view to injure my character, and to deprive me of my ſituation in the honourable company's ſervice. I have therefore to requeſt that your honourable board will appoint a committee of gentlemen to inveſtigate the matter fully, with all previous circumſtances; that they be deſired to aſcertain the characters of the petitioners, and whether they have acted under the influence of intereſt or fear, in bringing forward this complaint againſt me; that I be allowed to croſs-examine the parties, or put queſtions to them through the committee, and produce evidence in refutation of this charge. I make this requeſt with greater confidence, as it has not been denied to other ſervants of the honourable company, and that you will conſider it as a fair and impartial mode of proceeding. I ſhall not at preſent take up the time of your honourable board further than to declare, that the repreſentation made to you by the petitioners, Cundapah and Saumy, are falſe, wicked, and unfounded, which I am ready to affirm in the moſt ſolemn manner.

I have the honour to be,

Honourable Sir,

Your moſt obedient

Fort St. George, humble ſervant,

28th Sept. 1789. DAVID HALIBURTON.

The paper ſhewn to me, marked B, is a true extract of the conſultation.

Book F, containing the records of conſultation, is ſworn to by this witneſs.

At the inſtance of the council for Sunkåraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, the petition of Saumy and Cundapah, other depoſitions of Saumy and Cundapah, and letter of Mr. Haliburton, here before entered, together with the following depoſition of Cundapah and Saumy, read as follows:

Fort Saint George, 15th Sept. 1789.

Saumy being called in and queſtioned as to what he knows of the matter, declares, that one day he was near the Bell Place in Fort Saint George, and ſaw Mr. Haliburton beckon to Cundapah to come to him; at this time Cundapah called him, and they both went accordingly; Cundapah ſpoke Engliſh to Mr. Haliburton, which he did not underſtand, but heard the words, 'government' and 'committee' mentioned by that gentleman.—After leaving Mr. Haliburton, he aſked Cundapah why he talked ſo long, and upon this he ſaid Mr. Haliburton promiſed to protect them, in caſe they pulled down the choukeys, and made their complaint to the board of revenue.

Cundapah is aſked if he will take his oath to the truth of what is aſſerted in his petition, and he anſwers that he is ready to ſwear to the truth thereof at Trevalore, or any other pagoda; and Saumy ſays, that he is ready to atteſt his declaration on oath, in the ſame manner.

Being aſked if any other perſon ſpoke to him on the ſubject, or held out any encouragement, Cundapah ſays, only one gentleman (Mr. Haliburton) had ſpoken to him.

One of the inhabitants attending, named, acquaints the board that Vincatachillah, belonging

to

to Manally Village, ſent for them, and perſuaded them to uſe violence, and complain to the board of revenue; and Cundapah being aſked if any other inhabitants, or perſon at Madras, had uſed perſuaſions with them to complain, or pull down the choukeys, he anſwers that Venaigum told Poonapah, renter of Saint Magans, that if he could perſuade Addenarrain to pull down the choukeys, he Venaigum would diſcharge Addenarrain's debt, and procure his releaſe.

The inhabitants are then ordered to withdraw.

JOHN HOLLOND.
Examined JAMES HENRY CASAMAJOR.
Dan[l] Ince. EDWARD JOHN HOLLOND.

At a conſultation, preſent the Honourable John Hollond, Eſq. governor, preſident, James Henry Caſamajor, Edward John Hollond.

Minutes of laſt conſultation read.

Cundapah and Saumy, who attended at laſt conſultation are called in; and the original petition in the Malabar language, ſigned by them, being read to them by Shenmogaroy, ſworn interpreter to the juſtices, they take oaths according to the cuſtom of their caſt to the truth of its contents.

The particulars mentioned by Saumy, and entered in laſt conſultation, are read and explained to him by the interpreter, and Saumy declares, on oath, to the truth thereof.

Cundapah and Saumy are then ordered to withdraw.

At

At a conſultation, preſent the Honourable John Hollond, Eſq. governor, preſident, James Henry Caſamajor, Edward John Hollond.

Minutes of laſt conſultation read.

Cundapah and Saumy being called in, the governor acquaints the board, that he has been informed, attempts have been made to ſuborn the perſons who gave evidence at the two preceding conſultations to retract their declaration, the ſworn interpreter to the juſtice being employed as interpreter.

Cundapah and Saumy are then ſworn to declare the truth to ſuch queſtions as may be put to them.

Queſtion. Have any attempts been made, by offering bribes to you, or in any other manner, to make you retract your evidence, or declare differently from what was mentioned by you before this board?

Cundapah. On Friday afternoon, at five o'clock, when I was ſtaying near Saumy's Houſe, a bramin (pointing to the perſon who is preſent) called Appajee Row, came to me, and ſaid to me, you went and declared before the board ſomething againſt a gentleman and Venaigum Moodely, did you, ſaid he, gain ten pagodas by it? and you being poor, I will give you five hundred pagodas in hand if you will accuſe Addenarrain, or leave this place and go to the northward, and as ſoon as I had proceeded one ſtage, he (Venaigum) would give another five hundred pagodas. I anſwered, that he would not give 500 pagodas, but if he would bring the money in hand, then I would do as he directed. Afterwards, in the evening, about ſun-ſet, the ſaid Appajee Row and Venaigum Moodely were ſtanding near Sittambalam, Moodely's garden, near Choolie, and they called me, and Venaigum Moodely told me that he would ſatisfy me according as he has ſent word by Appajee Row, if I would not declare any thing againſt him

and

and Mr. Haliburton. Venaigum Moodely then told me to come to him on Saturday, but I did not go to him. On Saturday, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, the ſaid Appajee Row came to me, and told me that I had not come to him (Venaigum Moodely) as I had promiſed. I anſwered, that I would never go to Venaigum Moodely; but if he was the man that would give me the money, let him (Venaigum Moodely) ſend the money by him, Appajee Row; then the ſaid Appajee Row aſked me, Shall I go and bring the money? and I ſaid, Very well, go and bring the money, and then I ſhall do what you have ſpoken to me. Appajee Row then aſked me, Shall I truſt to your word, and bring the money? I anſwered, Yes, you had better truſt my word. Appajee next aſked me where he ſhould come to me with the money. I replied, I being poor, I muſt go out upon my own buſineſs, and will call at Saumy Moodely's houſe, at ten o'clock at night. Appajee Row then went away. At night, about nine o'clock, I went to Saumy Moodely's Houſe, and waited there, and at ten o'clock Appajee came and aſked the houſe people whether Cundapah Moodely was there. I then anſwered that I was there; upon which Appajee Row brought the money, and kept it in my hand, and told me it was five hundred pagodas (Cundapah then delivers in a handkerchief containing the pagodas delivered to him by Appajee Row) and if I would accuſe Addenarrain it would be better, and if not, to go away from the ſettlement; out of which five hundred pagodas Appajee Row deſired me to give him fifty pagodas. I anſwered, that I would never open the handkerchief, nor take any of the money for myſelf, or give him any part of it; and told him that I would carry it to the preſence of the governor, and if the governor pleaſed to give me that money, out of which I would

would give him (Appajee Row) fifty pagodas as he desired; at the same time I seized him and brought him before the governor, when the governor ordered me, and Saumy, and Appajee Row, with the money, under guard.

Appajee Row likewise told me to declare that what I had said before the board was by the persuasion of Addenarrain Moodely, or else to leave the settlement and go away.

When I seized Appajee Row, and carried him to the governor's gardens, I called Ederajee Naig, the neighbour house man, and told him that a person brought something, and gave it into my hand, which is a very bad business, and I am going to carry him before the governor, which you are to take notice of: in the same house was one Choolie, and I also desired him to take notice.

Saumy. On Friday afternoon, when I was staying at my house, between four and five o'clock, Cundapah Moodely and Appajee Row both were speaking together, and came to my house; Cundapah Moodely told me, have you heard any news? upon which I desired him to let me know it, and Cundapah told me that Venaigum Moodely had sent Appajee Row to bring us to him, as we had accused him (Venaigum Moodely) and Mr. Haliburton; and the said Venaigum Moodely wanted to speak with us about it.—I then told Cundapah, what business had we to speak to Venaigum Moodely? that what we knew we had already declared before the board. Cundapah repeated, he (Venaigum Moodely) wanted to speak with us; and I then told Cundapah to go and speak to Venaigum Moodely if he liked, and I went away upon my own business. Notwithstanding Cundapah again came to my house that evening about 8 or 9 o'clock, and told me that he went to Venaigum Moodely, who told

Cundapah

Cundapah to do as he had deſired Appajee Row to inform him, and he would gain by it. On Saturday, the following morning, between 11 and 12 o'clock, the ſaid Cundapah and Appajee Row again came to my houſe, and Cundapah told me, in preſence of Appajee Row, if we would alter what we had declared before the board, or go from the ſettlement, we ſhould gain 1000 or 500 pagodas, as Appajee Row told us. I anſwered, I will not believe it, that Venaigum Moodely will give the money, nor would I undertake to do as he deſired, but I told Cundapah, if he (Appajee Row) would truly bring the money, then we ſhould conſider what is to be done, and they went away. On Sunday, the next day, about 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening, I came to my houſe; I found Cundapah there, who aſked me where I came from? and I anſwered from the Maratta town; in the mean time Appajee Row came and ſat near Cundapah, when I aſked Cundapah, what made Appajee Row come there at ſo late a time in the evening. Before Cundapah made me any anſwer, Appajee Row took a bag of money, and put it into the hands of Cundapah, ſaying at the ſame time, as he was poor to take notice of him; as ſoon as Cundapah had the money in his hands he took it, and ſaid to me what is to be done with this? I anſwered, this moment we ſhould take the money before the governor and ſeize Appajee Row, and if we do not do ſo it will be bad for us, as we ſhall be puniſhed; as I thought at the time, if we did not make known the circumſtances immediately to the governor of the bribe offered, we ſhould bring ourſelves into trouble, by being liable to be charged with receiving money for the purpoſe of giving falſe evidence. In the mean time, Appajee Row ſaid, why do you make

make this trouble? take the money, and accuſe Addenarrain for having perſuaded you to declare what you have ſaid before the board, or leave the ſettlement, and go away. I anſwered, all this muſt go before the governor to be ſettled, and I ſeized Appajee Row, and was carrying him away, when Cundapah called to Edderaja Naig, the neighbour houſe man, as a witneſs that we carried Appajee Row to the governor; and Cundapah, Appajee Row, and I went with the money, and laid it before the governor; and after mentioning the circumſtances, the governor ordered us, with the money, under guard.

Saumy declares that the handkerchief, containing money, and produced by Cundapah, is the ſame which was delivered into the hands of Cundapah, by Apajee Row, at his houſe, on Sunday night.

APPAJEE is ſworn to declare the truth, and relates as follows:

I live at Triplicane, and being without employ, I applied to Venaigum Moodely to get me employment, and I have ſince been waiting by him; he promiſes to get me employment, but has not to this time. On Friday, Venaigum Moodely aſked me, if I would make an agreement between him, Cundapah, and Saumy, reſpecting the buſineſs of the beetle farms choukeys; that they had accuſed him and Mr. Haliburton before the board. I aſked what Cundapah he meant; he anſwered, Colapaulum Cundapah. I told Venaigum, that I knew him; and he aſked me, how I knew him? upon which I ſaid I had known him ſince the time of the war, when we all came into this place as an aſylum. Venaigum ſaid, the buſineſs of which I am going to requeſt of you, will you do it for me without letting any other perſon know it? I anſwered, I will do it, but

but if Cundapah does not come into the agreement, what ſhall I do? Venaigum ſaid, However, you are acquainted with him; you had better go and try, and if he does not agree, then I will ſend ſome other perſon, and make him agree. I told Venaigum, that I would go and try all that I could, but if it was not ſettled, don't you accuſe me of having ſpoiled the buſineſs, as I am poor, and waiting your favour. Venaigum ſaid, Very well; and ſoon afterwards I aſked him, what I ſhould do? he told me to go to Cundapah, and ſay to him, Did you gain 10 pagodas, or any other ſum, by informing and ſwearing before the board againſt him and Mr. Haliburton, and to ſay to Cundapah, if he would alter and declare before the board, that Addenarrain had perſuaded him to ſay what he had already declared, or elſe to leave the ſettlement, and go away; that he would give him (Cundapah) 1000 pagodas, 500 of which is to be paid in hand, and the other 500 to be paid on accuſing Addenarrain, or on his leaving the ſettlement. Accordingly I went to Cundapah and Saumy, and related to them what Venaigum had ſaid to me, as beforementioned; they ſaid, Very well, bring the money, and we ſhall ſpeak to you about it. Soon after I went back to Venaigum, and told him what Cundapah and Saumy had ſaid to me; Venaigum told me, I am going to Settemberam Moodely's gardens, at Choolie, and you had better go and bring them to me there. I accordingly went to Cundapah, and carried him to Venaigum Moodely. I ſtood at a little diſtance, and they both (Venaigum and Cundapah) ſpoke together. Cundapah came back after ſpeaking a little while, and Venaigum told me, that Cundapah had promiſed to come to him the next day. I anſwered, very well, and we

went

went away. Notwithſtanding, Cundapah did not come to Venaigum the next day as he had promiſed. Venaigum Moodely told me, that Cundapah did not come as he had promiſed, and therefore ſaid, you will take the money (500 pagodas) and go to Cundapah, and give it to him according to the agreement you made with him. Accordingly, on Sunday, Venaigum gave me the money, and after receiving it, I deſired him to ſend another of his own people with me, as I was afraid, it being ſo late at night, to carry the money alone. Venaigum told, you don't know my man ſhould not be with you; I will truſt you to carry it yourſelf. I carried the money to Cundapah when he was ſitting in Saumy Moodely's houſe; the door being ſhut, I called out the name Cundapah, and he opened the door, and received me into his houſe; I went in, and ſit upon Pyal, and told Cundapah, I had brought the money from Venaigum Moodely, for the purpoſe of the buſineſs I and Venaigum had mentioned to him. Cundapah deſired me to give it into his hands, and I gave it accordingly. After receiving it into his hands, I told him, you have received this, and I, being a poor bramin, give me ſomething for my expence. Cundapah aſked me how much I wanted, and I ſaid, Give me 50 pagodas. Cundapah ſaid, Very well, we ſhall carry this money, and keep it in the preſence of the governor, and then I will relate the matter to the governor, and if he gives the money to us, I will give you 50 pagodas. I aſked him why ſo, and Cundapah told me, You don't know the conduct of Venaigum, he would now give the money, and to-morrow proſecute you in the mayor's court, and get it back, then it would happen trouble for you and me; and Cundapah directly ſeized me to carry me to the gover-

nor's

nor's gardens; I told him, Don't you force me; I will come of myſelf, and relate the ſubject to the governor. Accordingly we went, and brought the money into the preſence of the governor, and told the particulars, and I delivered the ſame in writing to the governor; and the governor ordered them, Cundapah, Saumy, and myſelf, into the guard, and the money was then in the hands of Cundapah. Being ſhewn the handkerchief, containing the money as delivered by Cundapah, he declares they are the ſame that were given to him by Venaigum Moodely, to be paid to Cundapah.

Appajee Row, Cundapah, and Saumy, are then ordered to withdraw.

Venaigum called before the board, and aſked, If he knows Cundapah and Saumy? he replies, That he knows Cundapah, but not Saumy.—Being aſked, If he ever ſaw Cundapah? he ſays, On Friday laſt in the Fort Square.—Aſked, If he ſent any meſſage to Cundapah on Friday, or Saturday, or Sunday? he denies having ſent any meſſage to him, or having ſeen him, except in the Fort Square on Friday laſt.—Aſked, If he knows the handkerchief lying upon the table, containing pagodas, and delivered by Cundapah? and he anſwers in the negative.—Aſked, If he knows Appajee Row? and he declares, that during his life he had not ſeen him; and is ready to declare the ſame upon oath.

Venaigum Moodely is deſired to withdraw.

SUNKAH CHINNA KISTNAMAH CHITTY, Beetle Farmer, called in, and ſworn to declare the truth.

Queſtion. Have there been any difficulties made in eſtabliſhing the beetle choukies in the villages, agreeable to the orders of government?

Anſwer. Yes, there were diſputes between me

and the inhabitants of ſome of the villages, and I applied to government in conſequence, and they gave me leave to put the choukies according to the cowle; which I did by the aſſiſtance of Mr. Dighton's people. At the time of erecting the choukies, ſome people came and pulled them down, and beat my people; and directly I and Mr. Dighton's people acquainted Mr. Dighton with what had happened. Mr. Dighton ſaid to me, This country inhabitants could not do ſuch things, without encouragement from others; and ſaid, What is your opinion? I anſwered to this, that Madras people muſt have encouraged the country people to do it, though I did not mention to him that I was informed that Addee Narrain, Poonapah, and Venaigum had aſſiſted and encouraged the people to do it; for I am informed by my ſervants, that they have heard from different people that thoſe three perſons had inſtigated them to do it. I ſent one of my ſervants to Venaigum Moodely, to acquaint him what I had heard; and told him it was improper to do any thing againſt the orders of government. Venaigum's anſwer to my ſervant was, that he knew nothing about it, and that I ſhould myſelf take notice and make enquiry who were the perſons that had oppoſed the orders of government. Lately I ſaw Venaigum in the Fort Square, and told him it is improper, and that he ought to aſſiſt me as a friend in the buſineſs I undertook, agreeable to the government's cowle, or elſe that I ſhould be ruined, and that my houſe would be ſold, in default of my not paying my rent. Venaigum anſwered, It was always uſual to mention in the former cowles, but the farmers never did inſiſt according to the cowle, but you do ſo, contrary to the uſual cuſtoms, by having the protection of the gentlemen, which cannot be continued longer;

and

and ſpoke to me in an affronting language. I left Venaigum, that I might not ſpeak to him any further. Afterwards, I ſent for Poonapah Moodely, who was the renter of Saint Magans, and told him to favour me with his aſſiſtance reſpecting the choukeys, agreeable to the cowle from government, and I did lend him 300 pagodas upon his bond, and I promiſed to aſſiſt him as much as I could; who anſwered, that he would endeavour to aſſiſt me, but he is afraid that Venaigum, who has encouraged the country people to do it, would render ſome trouble to him (Poonapah) and requeſted me to aſſiſt him in ſuch caſe, which I promiſed him to do accordingly. I thought I had ſatisfied Poonapah, and ſent for Addee Narrain, and told him, that I heard he encouraged the country people to oppoſe the orders of government; and that he was once ordered by the government to go out of the ſettlement, and if he acted improperly, it would happen to him again. In this manner I made Addee Narrain afraid, in order to get his friendſhip, and not to give more trouble in applying to the gentlemen of government. Addee Narrain told me he had nothing to do with it; and if it was enquired into, I ſhould find out who was at the bottom of it.—And I do not recollect any thing more of the matter.

Sunkah Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty then withdraws; and Addee Narrain is called in, and ſworn to declare the truth.

Queſtion. Do you know any thing of the late difficulties in eſtabliſhing the beetle choukeys, and who was the occaſion of them?

Addee Narrain. After ſome of the inhabitants had been confined by order of government for making trouble, I went to the beetle-renter, Kiſtnamah

Chitty, in order to get leave to ſend them victuals. Venaigum Moodely ſent his peon to call me to anſwer for the payment of a debt I owed him of 400 pagodas, on a joint bond with three other perſons. Accordingly I went to Venaigum Moodely, who did not ſpeak to me any thing about the payment, but told me, the choukey, which was pulled down by his order, I had endeavoured to fix again by joining with the renter; and he begged me not to eſtabliſh it. I told him, I could not do it, when the choukey was eſtabliſhed by ſepoys ſent by order of government; and I ſaid I did not think it was done by the renter himſelf, but by an order of government. Afterwards, for five or ſix days, I was kept at home; and lately I was aſleep at my houſe, when one of Venaigum's ſervants, called Rajah, awaked me, and told me his maſter wanted me; and I refuſed to go to him. The ſervant ſaid to me, he would have the money from me that ſame moment, by making me ſtand in the ſtreet until I paid. I told the ſervant it was improper for him to do ſo, while there is juſtice to make me pay, and refuſed to go with him to his maſter. One hour afterwards I went to Venaigum, and he told me, You aſſiſted the beetle renter in order to fix the choukeys; will you not get the money now to diſcharge the debt? I anſwered nothing to it, and he ſaid he would ſue me in the mayor's court for the recovery of it. I came away directly. Some time afterwards Settembelam Chitty ſued me in the mayor's court, and carried me to jail. I deſired my brother, and Perambore Cundapah Moodely, to go to Settembelam Moodely, by means of Venkiah, in order to releaſe me from jail, upon making agreement for the debt. When I heard from Cundapah Moodely and my brother, that Venaigum told Venkiah in their preſence, that

I ſhould

I ſhould not be releaſed, as I had aſſiſted the beetle-farmer in fixing the choukeys, to ruin 20,000 of the inhabitants; and that in caſe Settembelam Chitty ſhould releaſe me, he, Venaigum, would ſue me in the mayor's court, and make me to remain in jail for ever.

Ordered, That the handkerchief, ſaid to contain 500 pagodas, be depoſited in the caſh cheſt, under the ſeal of the company.

The board adjourn until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

JOHN HOLLOND,
Examined, JAS HY CASAMAJOR,
Danl Ince. EDWD JOHN HOLLOND.

WILLIAM HARRINGTON ſworn.

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine I was deputy ſecretary to the board of revenue, and I am now ſecretary thereof. I deliver in the original petition of the inhabitants, which had been delivered by government, and by them ſent to the board of revenue; and was received, I believe, on the 18th February 1789, as indorſed thereon.

To the Honourable Major General Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, K. B. Preſident and Governor, &c. in Council, Fort St. George.

The humble petition of the inhabitants in general of the honourable company's jaghire.

Moſt humbly ſheweth,

That your petitioners and their anceſtors have, from time immemorial, been inhabitants of the lands granted by his highneſs the nabob of Arcot,

in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three, to the honourable company, by way of jaghire, and have conſtantly employed themſelves in cultivating the lands ſituated within the ſame, for which they have been accuſtomed to receive a certain ſhare or proportion of the produce, and therewith to maintain themſelves and their families.

Your petitioners further beg leave to ſtate, that the proportions your petitioners were thus accuſtomed to receive were eſtabliſhed in each village by immemorial cuſtom, and was ſimilar to that eſtabliſhed all over India by Hindoo rajahs, and afterwards acknowledged by the Mahommedan prince who ſucceeded to their right.

Your petitioners further beg leave to ſhew, that theſe proportions or ſhares of the produce were intended as a compenſation for the labour beſtowed in the cultivation of their land, and differed in different villages according to the fertility of the ſoil, and the facility with which it might be watered. Where the ſoil was naturally good, and its ſituation rendered it capable of being eaſily watered, it has ever been the cuſtom that the lord of the ſoil ſhould have larger recompence, in proportion to thoſe advantages, and that the cultivator, who had leſs labour to beſtow, ſhould be ſatisfied with leſs; and where, on the contrary, the ſoil was not ſo good, nor the eaſe with which it might be watered ſo great, the lord of the ſoil was ſatisfied with a ſmaller recompence, in proportion to their diſadvantages; and the cultivator, who had more labour to beſtow, received a greater. Such, your petitioners humbly ſhew, have been the regulations reſpecting lands all over India, from the moſt remote times; and ſuch, till very lately, have been the regulations obſerved in the lands which your petitioners occupy.

Your

Your petitioners further beg leave to ſhew thoſe eſtabliſhed regulations have not only the venerable ſanction of antiquity, but, what your Petitioners know will have great weight with your honour, &c. they have the more venerable ſanction of equity and of juſtice; and your petitioners therefore humbly throw themſelves at your feet to repreſent to your honour, &c. that theſe regulations, ſo wiſely and ſo reaſonably eſtabliſhed, and ſo long and ſo conſtantly obſerved, have within theſe two years been broken through by the preſent collector of the revenue of the lands which your petitioners occupy, and they have all been ordered to pay exactly the ſame proportion, though the ſame labour will produce in ſome of the lands they occupy but half the quantity of grain it will in others, and conſequently many of your petitioners will receive but half as much for their labour.

Your petitioners further beg leave to repreſent, that thoſe innovations, which bear ſo hard upon many individuals among your petitioners, are the leſs reaſonable, as they are not of any advantage to the honourable company, for their actual receipts and collections at preſent are not more than they were formerly, and they muſt in the end be greatly diminiſhed, as it will be utterly impoſſible for many of your petitioners to pay the proportion at preſent required from them, and have ſufficient left to maintain themſelves and their families.

Your petitioners are unwilling further to urge, becauſe it muſt be painful to your honour, &c. to recollect the cruel devaſtation your petitioners ſuffered in their cattle, their houſes, and their ſubſtance of every ſort, during the late mercileſs war. Amidſt theſe misfortunes it was no ſmall conſolation

to them to reflect that they lived under a mild and humane government, who as ſoon as the ſword was ſheathed would hear their complaints, and as far as was reaſonable relieve their diſtreſs. They humbly truſt they have not hoped in vain. They humbly hope they ſhall not now, when public tranquillity is again reſtored, be the only perſons excluded from ſharing in its bleſſings, or be the firſt who ſhall have occaſion to complain of the rigour of a Britiſh government, to whoſe mild and impartial adminiſtration they have ever been taught to look up with reverence. They intreat they may not be forced away from their native fields, from an inability to ſubſiſt any longer upon them; but that your honour, &c. will be pleaſed to order the old cuſtomary regulations to be again re-eſtabliſhed, or ſuch other relief as may be fair and reaſonable; and your petitioners, and their families, and their lateſt poſterity,

Shall ever pray.

Here follows a tranſlation of names to the petition of the inhabitants of the jaghire, the original being in Malabar and Gentoo.

CURINGOLIE Diſtrict.

Naultoo Veerdyingar,
Naultoo Mootoo Vengitta Roddy,
Naultoo Vencatta Rama Reddy,
Naultoo Mooto Moodelliar.

TREPASSORE.

Naultoo Shyſhaga,
Naultoo Thottegauny,
Naultoo Royalengar.

VOOTA-

VOOTARAMULLORE,

Naultoo Saumeyingar,
Naultoo Veeradaya,
Alaſyoor Teroomalaſaryer,
Maroodum Chellippyen,

PONNARY,

Naultoo Ammiyah,
Mathoorey Naraſyah,
Paroombadoo Chellippyen.

CHINGLEPUTT Inhabitants,

Naultoo Vencattoo Reddy,
Naultoo Vullepoorum Hoolagupen,
Naultoo Anoothaureyappen,
Naultoo Narayanen,
Naultoo Shaſhya,
Vadunpalloo Vingada Kiſhnayingar,

POONDAMALLY.

Naultoo Yavalappa Moodelliar,
Naultoo Veeraperoomaul Moodelliar,
Vencatanarnapya,
Naultoo Sapapudy Moodelly.

PEDDA PAULEM.

Naultoo Saumey Oyer,
Naultoo Appagyah,
Accaraurapaukum Saſhyer.

SUTTAPAUKUM,

Naulto Vencatachellyer,
Naulto Shaſhya,
Valaputtoryer,
Puſiney Garum Mootoor Aumen.

SAUTY MAUHONUM.

Naultoo Royaloo Oyingar,

Naultoo

Naultoo Theyagaroyen,
Pullapurum Kriſhnyer,
Naultoo Appauſee Moodelliar.

CANJEVARAM.

Naultoo Vincatta Ramiah,
Naultoo Streeneyvaſa Oyingar,
Naultoo Mecroogapah Moodelly,
Naultoo Aguſtheyappa Moodelly.

COVALUM.

Coolatoo Naultoo Appavyer,
Naultoo Thoppy Veerayaven,
Naultoo Veerapultra Moodeliar.

MUNNEE MUNGALUM.

Naultoo Rungyvo,
Naultoo Annaſaumey Oyengar,
Naultoo Seenwas Oyengar,
Naultoo Kiſhna Oyengar.

CAUVAN TUNDALUM.

Streenevauſa Rogo Oyingar,
Sungaraſaureyer,
Naultoo Ambalavana Moodelliar,
Moodoo Moodelliar.

Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, and Appeyingar Bramin, pray that they may have the advantage of the above papers, as if produced on behalf of all the priſoners at the bar.

GEORGE MOUBRAY ſworn.

Queſtion. Were you a member of the board of revenue in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, when Mr. John Hollond ſucceeded to be governor of Fort Saint George, and preſident of the

the council thereof; and who were the other members of council, and of the board of revenue at that time?

Anſwer. I was—The members of council were Mr. John Hollond, Mr. James Henry Caſamajor, and Mr. Edward John Hollond—Mr. Edward Saunders, Mr. David Haliburton, and myſelf, were the members of the board of revenue; at which Mr. Edward John Hollond was ſome months afterwards appointed to preſide.

Queſtion. Did your proceedings at the board of revenue meet the cuſtomary ſupport of council during the above period?

Anſwer. No, they were in general diſapproved. The reſolutions of the board of revenue were generally diſapproved by government.

Queſtion. Do you know, or have heard, whether Mr. John Hollond and Mr. Edward John Hollond were deſirous of removing Mr. David Haliburton from the board of revenue, and was it on account of the buſineſs of the beetle farm, or how otherwiſe?

Anſwer. I certainly heard that ſuch was ſuppoſed to be their wiſh; and I heard that it was on account of the buſineſs of the beetle farm, when it was firſt attempted.

Queſtion. Were the members of the board of revenue unanimous in their reſolutions about the beetle farm?

Anſwer. Mr. Saunders, Mr. Haliburton, and myſelf were unanimous in our reſolution about the beetle farm, but it was diſapproved by the council.

Queſtion. Did Mr. Edward John Hollond betray any chagrin, while at the board of revenue, at his being

being ſingle in his opinion on any particular occaſion?

Anſwer. He certainly ſhewed that he was much diſpleaſed and diſſatisfied.

Queſtion by the Jury. You ſaid you heard that it was the wiſh of Meſſrs. John Hollond and Edward John Hollond to remove Mr. Haliburton from his ſeat at the board of revenue—was it from your own knowledge, or report from others?

Anſwer. It was firſt known to me by report only, but that report ſeemed to be confirmed by the diſpoſition Mr. Edward John Hollond ſhewed towards Mr. Haliburton, at the board of revenue.

Queſtion by Paupiah. What was the occaſion of the firſt diſpute between Mr. Edward John Hollond and Mr. Haliburton?

Anſwer. I cannot pretend to ſay what was the firſt point on which they differed; there were no quarrels at the board of revenue, though frequently warm diſcuſſions.

Queſtion. Was there any difference before the beetle buſineſs happened?

Anſwer. Yes, if I recollect, there was, with regard to the failure of the jaghire renters.

Queſtion. Was there any other?

Anſwer. I do not recollect.

Queſtion. What was the original cauſe of difference between Mr. Edward John Hollond and Mr. Haliburton?

Anſwer. I cannot pretend to ſay poſitively, but I underſtood it was about the beetle buſineſs.

Queſtion. Do you not believe there was other cauſes of difference in opinion, beſides the beetle buſineſs?

Anſwer. There were many others.

Queſtion

Queſtion by Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty. Do you know whether I have any concern in this buſineſs?

Anſwer. I know nothing of the matter.

COLAPAUKUM CUNDAPAH ſworn.

Clerk of the Peace. Relate what you know reſpecting the charge againſt the priſoners at the bar.

Witneſs. I am an inhabitant of Colapaukum, and have two yoke of bullocks; Poonapah Moodeliar, who rented Saint Magans, from whom I rented a village called Mopore for ſeven years, for three thouſand three hundred and fifty pagodas. I paid the money as limited for four years; for the next year there was no rain, and the company ordered that no more ſhould be received than was collected from the lands. At this time the renter put peons over me, and puſhed for payment. I told him I could not pay him then. He inſiſted, and ſaid he would make me pay. I was waiting and expecting to complain to Paupiah, the priſoner at the bar; and one day I, accompanied with Videnadum of Piſsbakum village, applied to him. Since that I waited on Paupiah. During that time Poonapah happened to be there. Paupiah told Poonapah, That as the company was pleaſed to ſtop the money, why ſhould you collect money from Cundapah? If you do that, he ſaid, he would inſiſt Poonapah ſhould pay the money to the company. Then Poonapah, afraid, ſaid nothing, and went away. Poonapah was afraid, as Paupiah was dubaſh to Mr. Hollond the governor, and Mr. Hollond the younger, who was preſident of the board of revenue (this happened about three years and two months ago). On the next morning I happened to go ſee Poonapah, who told me, Very well, you complain

complain to Paupiah, and oblige to give trouble for all of us: if you come to the village, then I ſhall inſiſt, and flog you by ſhoe, and receive the money. Since then I did not think of going to the village, ſo I reſided here. At this time, Conjeveram Streenwaſah Iyingar, and his ſon-in-law Appeyingar, one of the priſoners at the bar, and ſome other inhabitants of Caraugooly, uſed to come to Paupiah's houſe, and wait there in order to remove the waroo chuttum, and to eſtabliſh the uſual one, the mamool. For this purpoſe Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, one of the priſoners, and Avadaunum Ramah Saumy, another priſoner, and others, uſed to ſpeak, that as long as Mr. Haliburton is in committee, he always endeavoured to eſtabliſh the waroo chuttum, lately fixed by Mr. Dighton, and he won't let the mamool chuttum be eſtabliſhed. At the time this converſation happened, the beetle and tobacco farm was extended five miles more than uſual limits, and the inhabitants of the village pulled down and burned the mettoos or cuſtom-houſes; this they did two or three times, when there were ſent two or three companies of ſepoys, who brought perſons who had not done the act, for thoſe who had done it had run away; thoſe were confined in the main guard for three or four days, when they ſent for me, and told me, they had been ſtarving for three or four days, and deſired me to apply to Paupiah, and get them leave to go for their victuals. I anſwered, I would try, and I went that evening to Paupiah's houſe, where I ſaw Appeyingar Ramah Saumy, Streenwaſah Iyingar, and others; when Vincatachillah Chitty, Ramah Saumy, and Appeyingar ſaid, that if Brammey (meaning Paupiah) would remove Mr. Haliburton from the board of revenue, he could eaſily do that. Then

Paupiah ſaid, How can we remove Mr. Haliburton from his ſtation, without any fault on him? but if you can bring any fault, we will remove him. Vincatachillah Chitty ſaid, What, do you think ſo much about that? Send three or four thouſand pagodas to Mr. Haliburton; we ſhall then complain againſt him for having received it. While they were talking of that, I told Paupiah, that the men in the main guard were ſtarving, and I wiſhed he would let them go to their villages. Upon which Paupiah was laughing at the witneſs, and went away. The next day Paupiah told me to come to the beetle-renter's houſe, Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty. Then Paupiah, Appeyingar, and Ramah Saumy ſet off in their palanquins, and I ſet off afterwards, and found them there, with Vincatachillah Chitty, and Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, ſpeaking together. The renter aſked who I was? when they told me to ſtay at a diſtance; when I went out to the place where the peons and others were ſtanding. After this Appeyingar drew ſomething on a paper, and alſo two cadjans; then called this witneſs, and ſaid, Here is a petition ready, if you give that, the priſoners in the main guard will be releaſed; let them ſign it, if not, let them declare that the choukeys were pulled down by order of Mr. Haliburton. Directly I came to the priſoners in the main guard, and related it to them; who refuſed to ſign, ſaying, they would die ſooner than ſign. I then went to the renter's houſe, and reported this to them. They, Paupiah, Appeyingar, Vincatachillah Chitty, Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, and Sheſhachillah Chitty, were then at the renter's houſe; and Vincatachillah Chitty ſaid, This is the petition which is to releaſe the men in the main guard, and aſked me to ſign it directly. Appeyingar

peyingar ſaid, What, are you afraid to do this buſineſs againſt Mr. Haliburton, who has done great injury to the pagodas, and the inhabitants? and if I was you, I ſhould not mind to pull down the pagodas, and take ſuch oath againſt Mr. Haliburton. Then Vincatachillah Chitty told me, What, are you afraid to do this trifling buſineſs, I have done many in the mayor's court, and have carried on the buſineſs as I wiſhed; you, being a country man, have no courage. What! you refuſe to do this, when Paupiah told you to do it! The nabob or the rajah of Tanjore cannot refuſe, if Paupiah tells them to do any thing.—I was afraid, and ſigned. I do not know how to read or write, I can only ſign my name. I ſigned alſo to two cadjans, and Chinna Kiſtnamah gave ſix fanams to the witneſs, and deſired him to ſend one of them to Coratore, the other to Porcor. Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty alſo ſent a man with me, to know if I ſent a cadjan or not. I accordingly ſent the cadjans; the next day there was a conſultation, and the two cadjans were then laid before council; when Appeyingar told me that Paupiah deſired I would ſtay where they rung the bell. I was carried by the government peons into the council-room. When I entered, they ſhut the door. Mr. John Hollond, Mr. Caſamajor, Mr. Edward John Hollond, Mr. White, and Mr. Clerk were ſitting there, and Anna Pillay, company's tranſlator, and Paupiah. Previous to this, Paupiah, Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar, deſired me to ſend for Ayneveram Saumy, to get him to ſign as a witneſs. All that time Paupiah threatened and frightened me, that he would hang me, and ſend me to Bencoolen, if I did not get Saumy to ſign the paper. Then I deſired Ayneveram Saumy to ſign, and he did ſo. Paupiah told Appeyingar to go

and ſhew Mr. Haliburton to me, as he ſhould paſs from the committee room to his chariot. Before that time Mr. Haliburton had gone away. Paupiah, Appeyingar, and Vincatachillah Chitty told me to declare before the board that Mr. Haliburton ordered the people to pull down the choukeys, and if the complaint be laid before the committee, Mr. Haliburton would aſſiſt. I told before the council all that Paupiah had deſired me to declare. After which the council broke up. Three days after the council met again. The day before they met, the head hircarrah, Trimaliah, came to call me, and ſaid that Paupiah, Mr. Clerk, and Anna Pulla are waiting, and I muſt come ſoon. I went to Paupiah's houſe, who told me to go to Anna Pulla's houſe, when Mr. Clerk was waiting to ſee me at Triplicane Pagoda. I refuſed to go there, ſaying, If I take my oath there, I muſt die inſtantly; this is falſe accuſation. Then Anna Pulla, Paupiah, Mr. Edward John Hollond were ſpeaking together. Then Paupiah came and ſaid, If they call you before the council, and require you to take oath, you may take the water in your hand, but not ſwallow it. I was then called with Saumy into council; and the bramin poured a ſpoonful of water into my hand, which I did not ſwallow, but poured on my cloaths. For ſeven or eight days nothing was done. Afterwards Vincatachillah Chitty brought one Appajee Row to Paupiah's houſe. Paupiah then told me to go with Appeyingar and Appajee Row to Chinna Kiſtnamah's houſe, and bring five hundred pagodas. Appeyingar then went in, and ſpoke to Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty and Sheſhachilla Chitty, and received five hundred pagodas in a white cloth, and brought it in his hand [*The cloth and money produced in the court, and ſworn to by the witneſs*]. They then brought me, with the five hundred pagodas, to a

houſe oppoſite Paupiah's dwelling-houſe, in the Black Town, when Appeyingar opened the cloth, and reckoned the money. Then Vincatachillah Chitty was deſired by Appeyingar to go, and ſhew Venaigum to Appajee Row. They then went with a lanthorn, and ſhewed Venaigum, and returned back; this was at eleven at night. At twelve o'clock Appajee Row brought this bundle of money to me. Paupiah, Appeyingar, and Vincatachillah Chitty, told me to declare whatever Appajee Row ſhould tell me about this buſineſs. Appajee Row accordingly told me to ſay, that Venaigum ſent this money on behalf of Mr. Haliburton; which you will receive, and run away, or declare that Mr. Haliburton is ignorant of pulling down the choukeys. At this time, when I was in the houſe of Ayneveram Saumy, I ſeized Appajee Row, who brought the money, as I was inſtructed to do; and deſired a poor man, who was in the neighbour's houſe, who ſeemed to be a fool, to be witneſs, and I carried Appajee Row to the governor's garden. Paupiah was then ſtanding near the gate of the garden, and called us ſeveral bad names for coming ſo late; and took us up ſtairs, where Mr. Hollond was lying on the couch in his ſhirt. He directly got up, and brought the ſhade and candle. Paupiah brought paper, pen, and ink, and gave it to Saumy and Appajee Row to write, and likewiſe told me to write. I anſwered I did not know how. Then he deſired Saumy to write; and after three papers were done, they gave me back the money, and ordered Appajee Row, Saumy, and me to the guard, near the governor's garden houſe. Then Paupiah was going home, when we aſked, What have we done, that you ſhould confine us? as we have only done as you inſtructed us, why ſhould you confine us? Then Paupiah ſatisfied them, and ſaid

You had better remain in the guard only for the night; as the council meet to-morrow, and you will be releaſed. If you do not do ſo, they will not believe the charge to be true. Paupiah then gave us carpet to ſleep on, and went away. All the next day we were in the guard. The third there was a council, when we were carried from the guard, and I was ordered to put the money on the table, and aſked, how I came to get it? I ſtated as I was inſtructed by Appajee Row. They took informations from Appajee Row, Saumy, and me. The bramin poured water into my hand, which I did not ſwallow, but poured on my clothes, and went away. Paupiah and Anna Pulla were there. Paupiah was near Mr. Hollond's chair, and made ſigns to intimidate me by grinding his teeth, and lifting up his eyes.

Queſtions by PAUPIAH.

Queſtion. What year, month, and day did you come to me about the village buſineſs; and did any other perſon come with you, and was any one with me?

Anſwer. About three years and one month ago Parſwaukum Videnadah Moodely and I went to Paupiah. There were ten or twelve perſons with him at his garden. I do not know who they were.

Queſtion. What year's money did the renter demand of you?

Anſwer. The year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-eight.

Queſtion. Was there no rain that year?

Anſwer. There was no rain.

Queſtion. Is that the year the company determined not to demand the money from the inhabitants?

Anſwer. Yes.

Queſtion. In what month did you come to me?

Anſwer. In the month of May or June.

Queſtion. Is that the firſt time you came to me?

Anſwer. Yes.

Queſtion. On what occaſion did you firſt come to me?

Anſwer. About the village that I rented of Poonapah.

Queſtion. How many years after this did you ſee the priſoners, and the beetle-renter, and the Sheſhacillum together?

Anſwer. About fifteen or twenty days after.

Queſtion. At what place did you firſt ſee them?

Anſwer. At Paupiah's houſe. There I ſaw theſe people all ſtaying there, Sheenewarah and Appeyingar. Vincatachillah Chitty uſed to go to his own houſe for victuals, and then returned to Paupiah's.

Queſtion. At what houſe?

Anſwer. In the up-ſtairs houſe, and the other houſe.

Queſtion. How can I be in two houſes at once?

Anſwer. You went from one houſe to the other, and the people who attended you always followed.

Queſtion. You ſay we met, ſat, and talked about the beetle buſineſs—where were we then, and who were with you, and who with us?

Anſwer. At Paupiah's up-ſtairs houſe. I came alone. Appeyingar, Paupiah, Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, Sheſhachilla, and Vincatachillah Chitty, were there.

Queſtion.

Queſtion. Was any one elſe there?

Anſwer. Many people uſed to come and go?

Queſtion. Was there one meeting, or were there ſeveral?

Anſwer. We uſed to meet and ſpeak ſeveral days on this buſineſs.

Queſtion. At one place, or ſeveral?

Anſwer. Sometimes in Paupiah's houſes, ſometimes in his garden, ſometimes where he uſed to go to the nabob's garden, and come back.

Queſtion. What garden?

Anſwer. The garden at Poorahwauk, lately built.

Queſtion. Was the garden houſe an up-ſtairs houſe?

Anſwer. It was an up-ſtairs houſe, juſt begun; and the carpenters uſed to work, and there he uſed to eat a tiffen and cakes.

Queſtion. Was this after the choukeys were burnt?

Anſwer. Yes.

Queſtion. Who was in company at the laſt meeting, when you ſaw Appeyingar, and when was ſuch meeting?

Anſwer. The laſt meeting was in September eighty-nine, at Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's houſe; the day I do not recollect. There were preſent Vincatachillah Chitty, Appeyingar, Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, Ramah Saumy, Sheſhachilla Chitty, and Paupiah.

Queſtion. Who interpreted in the council?

Anſwer. Anna Paula.

Queſtion. Did you come voluntarily to Mr. Michell's committee?

Anſwer. I voluntarily came to Ram Row, and

ſaid, I was afraid by reaſon of the falſe charge againſt the gentleman; and proſtrated at his feet, and declared I muſt clear him from it. Ram Row carried me to Sahel Zadah (or nabob's eldeſt ſon) and thence to Mr. Haliburton's garden, when Eurepe, Addee Narrain, and Ram Row told Mr. Haliburton, that they were poor, and this was not done by them. If they would prove it by ſolemn oath at the pagoda, the truth would come out. Since then, I publiſhed the truth of it after General Medows arrived.

Queſtion. Was it before or after your property was ſeized by the collector, that you was with Ram Row?

Anſwer. After they were ſeized by Rajah Row, by order of Mr. Clerk.

Queſtion. When was your property reſtored; was it after you had given your evidence to the committee, or before?

Anſwer. After I appeared before Ram Row I got leave, and my property was reſtored, which was before I gave my declaration to the committee.

Queſtion. Was your depoſition to the committee taken before them; or where was it drawn, and by whom?

Anſwer. I declared and cauſed it to be written at a braminy's houſe at Triplicane. I brought it afterwards, and gave it to the committee. Afterwards Mr. Mitchell carried me to the pagoda, and called the pagoda braminy, who adminiſtered a ſolemn oath.

Queſtion. What houſe?

Anſwer. There are ſeveral braminy's houſes at Triplicane. I ſat at the pial of one of them. I uſed to go to Ram Row's houſe.

Queſtion.

Queſtion. Was the declaration written at Ram Row's houſe, or Addee Narrain's?

Anſwer. At neither.

Queſtion. At whoſe houſe, mention the name?

Anſwer. I cannot tell, I do not know.

Queſtion. Who wrote the declaration you gave to the committee?

Anſwer. My uncle, one Chingleroy.

Queſtion. Was your depoſition before Mr. Chaſe, as clerk at the juſtice's, or at the juſtice's houſe, taken word by word as you ſpoke, or was the written paper brought?

Anſwer. It was written from the paper which I delivered in to the committee, and afterwards it was read and explained to me. It was explained line by line, by Shunmogroy, before Mr. Juſtice Fallofield and Mr. Chaſe.

Queſtions by SUNKARAPORAM VINCATACHILLAH CHITTY.

Queſtion. At what time did you ſee me firſt?

Anſwer. In May or June eighty-nine, at Paupiah's houſe.

Queſtion. Did you ever converſe with me?

Anſwer. Every day I uſed to ſpeak to you.

Queſtion. Did any body know that I ever ſpoke to you?

Anſwer. Paupiah, Appeyingar, and Ramah Saumy.

Queſtion. At what different places did you ſpeak to me?

Anſwer. At Paupiah's houſe and front houſe, at his garden at Parawauck, at the beetle renter's houſe, and governor's garden.

Queſtion. In whoſe government?

Anſwer. In Mr. John Hollond's government.

Queſtion. Did you ever ſee me converſe with any one at the governor's garden houſe?

Anſwer. I ſaw you ſpeak to Paupiah two or three times there.

Queſtion. Were any other perſons preſent when I ſpake to Paupiah?

Anſwer. I did not obſerve that. You uſed to come in your palanquin, near the hedge, and then go to the garden, and ſpeak to Paupiah.

Queſtion. On what ſubject did I ſpeak to Paupiah?

Anſwer. I do not know. I never was near enough.

Queſtion. Was he accuſtomed to be with him at any other time or place, when they were converſing together?

Anſwer. Not there, but at Paupiah's houſe, when we were ſpeaking about the tobacco buſineſs.

Queſtion. Did you not declare before the committee, that I was at the governor's garden houſe when Paupiah was conſulting about the removal of Mr. Haliburton?

Anſwer. I did not ſay there that word, or take my oath to that purpoſe.

Queſtion. Did you ever ſee me at the beetle-farmer's houſe?

Anſwer. Ten, fifteen, or twenty times, day and night.

Queſtion. Does any one know that I was there?

Anſwer. Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty and Sheſhachillah Chitty.

Queſtion. Was there only three in the houſe, or was the houſe full of company?

Anſwer. In the hall where Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty uſed to ſleep, no one went there but thoſe people.

Queſtion.

Queſtion. Did you ever hear me ſpeak any thing about the removal of Mr. Haliburton at Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's houſe, or was you only informed thereof?

Anſwer. Not at Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah's houſe, but afterwards.

Queſtion. Did you not inform the committee that I was five hundred times at Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's houſe, conſulting about the removal of Mr. Haliburton?

Anſwer. Twenty or thirty times they uſed to meet at Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's houſe about the buſineſs; at laſt it was ſettled there.

Queſtion. Did any one know of my ſpeaking at Paupiah's houſe about the removal of Mr. Haliburton?

Anſwer. Four or five people know that. Vincatachillah Chitty uſed to ſtand there, and ſhew me, if I would ſtamp with my foot, I might get ten pagodas, and give it any body, and get them to make affidavit, and "Ruin one man—what a ſtupid "fellow you are to be afraid!"

Queſtion. Do you recollect any one man?

Anſwer. Appeyingar, Ramah Saumy, and Paupiah.

Queſtion. Was there no other perſon but the priſoners at the bar?

Anſwer. No.

Queſtion. Was any one preſent beſide the priſoners, when you ſay I brought Appajee Row to receive five hundred pagodas at Paupiah's houſe?

Anſwer. None but the priſoners.

Queſtion. Does any one know when you ſay I agreed to carry a lanthorn to Venaigum's houſe?

Anſwer. Your ſervant knows, alſo Appeyingar, who told you to go to Venaigum's houſe.

Queſtion.

Queſtion. Did you give any declaration at Venaigum's houſe, about what happened in the beetle buſineſs, after the arrival of General Medows?

Anſwer. Poonapah, the Sant Magans renter, drew a paper, which he ſent to Venaigum's; and a perſon at Venaigum's houſe copied the paper, and gave it to me to ſign, which I ſigned by compulſion of Venaigum.

Queſtion. Did you not mention in that paper that Addee Narrain was inſtructing you about the removal of Mr. Haliburton.

Anſwer. I did not mention Addee Narrain's name of myſelf; they wrote ſomething as they pleaſed, according to the paper ſent by Poonapah, and forced me to ſign it, and ten people who were there alſo ſigned as witneſs, which I did not like. Afterwards I went to the committee, and gave my voluntary declaration upon oath, to which I ſwore at Triplicane pagoda. Venaigum ſtill keeps two of my clothes.

Queſtion. Did you not lately give a written declaration at Addee Narrain's houſe, and was my name mentioned in it?

Anſwer. I did not write any, nor did Addee Narrain give any.

Queſtion. Did not Europe, Addee Narrain, and the other Addee Narrain tell you, I had trouble before, and if you tell any thing againſt me, gentlemen will believe it?

Anſwer. They did not tell me ſo, but your own bad actions induced you to think ſo.

Queſtion. Did you not ſee me at Ram Row's the day before you ſwore at the pagoda?

Anſwer. I ſaw you ſeveral times before and after, and on that day.

Queſtion. Did I not tell Ram Row, that I did not know any thing about the removal of Mr. Haliburton;

liburton; and did you not then ſay, It is now too late, I have made my declaration, and inſerted your name at the deſire of ſome one?

Anſwer. Ram Row told me, Vincatachillah had ſaid he was ignorant of the buſineſs. I replied, that he was the perſon who had done three quarter part of the buſineſs. Ram Row then told that to Vincatachillah, who immediately went away.

Queſtion. Is it true I went away immediately?

Anſwer. I ſaw that Vincatachillah went away immediately.

Queſtion. Who read to you the declaration at Triplicane pagoda?

Anſwer. Mr. Michell went to the pagoda early in the morning. Anna Pulla, the interpreter, had not arrived, therefore the paper was given to Addee Narrain, who read it to him.

Queſtion. Do you generally ſtay at Addee Narrain's houſe?

Anſwer. Yes, at his houſe, at Ram Row's, at Sahel Zedda's; and at Madras in Chittapet Addee Narrain's houſe.

Queſtion. Do you not know that thoſe two Narrains are my mortal enemies?

Anſwer. I do not know they are enemies to you, but they are friends to me.

Queſtion. Was not Chittapet Addee Narrain always with Paupiah, Mr. Hollond's dubaſh, and at the bottom of the alledged plot againſt Mr. Haliburton?

Anſwer. When Addee Narrain was vakeel to the renter of Sant Magans, he uſed to go to Paupiah's houſe, at the time when the difference aroſe between Mr. Hollond and Mr. Haliburton.

CHARLES NICHOLAS WHITE ſworn.

Queſtion. Were you not civil ſecretary in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, when Mr. John Hollond was governor?

Anſwer. I was.

Queſtion. Relate what you know reſpecting Mr. Haliburton's removal in eighty-nine.

Anſwer. I underſtand the priſoners are indicted for being concerned in a conſpiracy to remove Mr. Haliburton from his ſeat at the board of revenue, by bringing forward to council an accuſation againſt them.

The limits of the beetle monopoly being extended from ſeven to ten miles, it occaſioned many complaints and diſturbances on the part of the inhabitants of ſome of the villages—ſeveral inhabitants were ſeized and brought to the fort, and were, I believe, confined in the main guard; after a confinement of a few days they were called before the board, and queſtioned how they could behave ſo improperly. Two of the inhabitants, named Cundapah and Saumy, preſented petitions to the board, charging Mr. Haliburton with having encouraged them to commit theſe diſturbances, and to reſiſt the orders of government. At the next meeting of council Mr. Hollond mentioned to the board that he had been informed attempts had been made to induce the witneſſes Saumy and Cundapah to declare differently from what they had done at the former meeting. An examination immediately took place, and Cundapah and Saumy both declared that one Venaigum had by himſelf, and through one Appajee Row, offered them five hundred pagodas if they would retract their evidence, and declare differently

differently from what they had done before reſpecting Mr. Haliburton and Venaigum. After this Mr. Haliburton was furniſhed with the purport of the declarations againſt him, and deſired to reply thereto. In anſwer Mr. Haliburton ſtated the inconſiſtency and the inſufficiency of the evidence; that the perſons who were brought forward (Saumy and Cundapah) were merely the inſtrument of others; and requeſted that a committee might be appointed to inveſtigate the matter fully: this requeſt was not complied with, and Mr. John Hollond propoſed that Mr. Haliburton ſhould be removed from his ſtation; which was concurred in by Mr. Edward John Hollond, but Mr. Caſamayor diſſented. Mr. Haliburton was accordingly removed, and appointed pay-maſter of Chundergherry. I do not recollect that any one of the priſoners except Paupiah was preſent during the enquiry in the conſultation room, nor do I know that any one of them was concerned in the conſpiracy in queſtion; but I muſt mention to the gentlemen of the jury, that I obſerved Paupiah looked ſeveral times at the witneſſes, as if he wiſhed to influence them; in particular I thought he ſhewed pointed diſpleaſure and diſappointment at the evidence given by the beetle farmer, as if there had been a prior communication between them.

Queſtion by the Court. Was the company's tranſlator preſent at the time?

Anſwer. Yes, Anna Saumy was there, and interpreted.

Queſtion. Is it uſual for the governor's dubaſh to be preſent at enquiries of this kind?

Anſwer. During Mr. Davidſon's and Sir Archibald Campbell's adminiſtration, I recollect that their dubaſhes were occaſionally called in, but not

for ſuch a length of time, for Paupiah was preſent during the greateſt part of the examination—I ſpeak of courſe to the beſt of my recollection.

Queſtion. What ſentiments did you form at the time reſpecting the formality or juſtice of the meaſure of removing Mr. Haliburton, and the nature of the enquiry which led to it?

Anſwer. I thought it a very arbitrary and unjuſt proceeding, and I believe ſuch were the ſentiments of the public.

Queſtion. Is this parcel now before the court the ſame which was delivered in to council?

Anſwer. It appears to be the ſame which was delivered by Cundapah, and ordered to be put into the company's caſh cheſt. I obſerve it has the company's ſeal, which I ordered the ſhroff to put on it.

Queſtion by Paupiah. You ſay I looked at the witneſſes in a manner that impreſſed you to think there had been ſome prior converſation or underſtanding, and that it appeared I was diſpleaſed with the anſwers of Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty—now do you mean to tell the court that you believe an impreſſion was actually made by me on the witneſſes?

Anſwer. I think it very probable, but not ſo much on the beetle farmer, who ſaid he was ſick, and by permiſſion laid himſelf on the floor in the council room, and apparently keeping back, much to the diſappointment of Paupiah.

Queſtion. Did not the governor aſk the interpreter, if he was not the ſworn interpreter?

Anſwer. I do not recollect, but either Anna Saumy or the ſworn interpreter to the juſtices attended.

Queſtion. Was the council door opened during this

this enquiry, and were any other perſons preſent beſides the evidences?

Anſwer. To the beſt of my recollection it was kept ſhut, though it might have been occaſionally opened and remain open for a ſhort time; there were other inhabitants of the villages called in, but I ſaw no one attempt to influence the witneſſes beſides Paupiah.

Queſtion. Was Mr. Clerk, the ſub-ſecretary, preſent?

Anſwer. I do not perfectly recollect, he might have been there; I took down the whole of the examinations in my own hand-writing.

Queſtion. Was the examinations taken by word of mouth, or by any written paper?

Anſwer. To the beſt of my recollection it was all taken down by word of mouth.

Queſtion. Did Mr. Caſamajor put any queſtions there?

Anſwer. I do not perfectly recollect; if he did put any they muſt have been very few.

Queſtion. Did not Mr. Caſamajor correct the interpreter ſeveral times in the courſe of the examination?

Anſwer. I do not recollect that he did ſo, or that he was ſo well verſed in the Malabar language; it is poſſible he might have attempted it without my recollecting it. I mentioned in one part of my evidence that Paupiah's looks might have an influence on the witneſſes, from the dread that I always underſtood the natives were under of him; this I imagine aroſe from his ſuppoſed bad character, and the influence he had with his maſter: ſuch indeed was his ſuppoſed influence, that I have heard it often remarked, that many Europeans who were in

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the character of gentlemen, and ſome in the company's ſervice, had meanly courted his favour.

Queſtion. Were the witneſſes who gave their evidence in the conſultation room regularly ſworn?

Anſwer. To the beſt of my recollection they were ſworn, and I obſerved no improper interference of any member of government during the examination.

RENOO ROW ſworn.

Queſtion. Relate what you know reſpecting the charges againſt the priſoners at the bar.

Anſwer. When I was reſiding at Triplicane, Chinna Tomby, Vincatachillah's man came, and called me; I aſked what was the reaſon; he ſaid he had employ to recommend me. I ſaid, I did not want his employ or recommendation, I was at my own houſe, ſo the man went back to Madras. That in the month of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, on the eighth of the Malabar ſtyle or eighteenth Engliſh, on Sunday, the ſame man, with Paupiah, returned and called me. I refuſed to come, and aſked for what they wanted me; they repeatedly told me it was proper I ſhould come when great people ſent for me; on which I went with them to Paupiah's houſe, where Paupiah, Appeyingar, Vincatachillah Chitty, and Ramah Saumy, the priſoners at the bar, were ſpeaking together. As ſoon as Vincatachillah Chitty ſaw me, he ſaid, this was the gentleman they ſpoke of. Paupiah ſaid, Vincatachillah had recommended me to ſervice, as I was clever. Then Paupiah told me that if I would do the buſineſs properly he would recommend me to one of the company's jaghires, likewiſe that he would give me a preſent of one hundred pagodas. I aſked what buſineſs? He ſaid, I and my maſter Mr. Hol-

lond

lond (meaning the governor) have buſineſs to do, and for that purpoſe have cauſed Cundapah and Saumy to give in a petition; there is a variance taken place between Mr. Haliburton and my maſter, Mr. Holland. My maſter intends to remove the wara chittum lately fixed by Mr. Dighton, and to eſtabliſh the mamool, which Mr. Haliburton oppoſes, therefore we will give you five hundred pagodas, which you will carry to Colapaukum Cundapah, who reſides in the houſe of Agneveram Saumy; they both live in the ſame place; we have alſo told them we will ſend the money: if you will carry the money, and give it to Cundapah, who will receive the money, and directly he will ſeize you, and after naming three or four people as witneſſes, Cundapah and Saumy will bring you to the governor's gardens: I will before-hand inform the circumſtances to the governor. He again told me to tell Cundapah that Venaigum ſent this five hundred pagodas to give him; and he will aſk you for what he ſent the money; then you will tell him that you have complained againſt Mr. Haliburton in council, that he will give him one thouſand pagodas more if he won't appear before the council, if not you will declare that Mr. Haliburton is ignorant of this buſineſs. As Paupiah gave him the ſum of five hundred pagodas to accuſe Mr. Haliburton, if Cundapah ſeize and bring you to the governor's garden, you need not be afraid, as I will tell the governor the circumſtances before-hand. To which I anſwered, I would never have come if I had known you ſent for me upon this buſineſs: I came to you as being the governor's dubaſh, and a great man; if I had known you wanted me for this buſineſs I would not have come; I cannot do this buſineſs. Then Paupiah told him again, What! are you afraid of this trifling

buſineſs? if you do it you will get my favour and my maſter's, likewiſe you ſhall have the management of a diſtrict of the company's jaghire, alſo a preſent of one hundred pagodas. Paupiah told me they had got two witneſſes, but his maſter told him it was neceſſary to have a third, which you [illegible] procure in order to ſupport the charge againſt Mr. Haliburton: Vincatachillah Chitty recommended you to me, therefore you muſt do this buſineſs for me; I could get any other man, but I wiſh you to do it, as you are poor, and will get one hundred pagodas for it. I entirely refuſed, whereupon Paupiah threatened to complain to the governor, and have me tied up and flogged. I then ſaid, Why ſhould you flog me, I am not a thief?—I know your fault, in having been bail in Mr. Flover's cauſe, without having any houſe or eſtate in the place. To which I anſwered, I did not wiſh to be bail, I was forced to it by Vincatachillah Chitty, who promiſed I ſhould be a great man and rich by it. Then Vincatachillah called and told me he had promiſed Paupiah he ſhould effect the buſineſs by him. When I refuſed, Paupiah told Vincatachillah Chitty, Why did you deſire that fellow? and ordered one of his peons to take me to the governor's, at the fort. Then Paupiah went into an inner part of his houſe, and Ramah Saumy aſked me why I refuſed what Paupiah deſired you to do, as you will be flogged? If you will undertake this buſineſs, we will all undertake to recommend you to Paupiah, that he may forgive you. Then Appeyingar, Ramah Saumy, and Vincatachillah all tried to perſuade me; at laſt Appeyingar conducted me and Cundapah to Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's houſe: Appeyingar ordered me and Cundapah to ſtay outſide, and went in. At this time Vincatachillah Chitty came to

Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's houſe; Appeyingar then returned from the inſide with a bundle of money tied up in a white cloth. Then I, Appeyingar, and Cundapah, went to Paupiah's houſe, where Vincatachillah Chitty alſo arrived; then Paupiah told Vincatachillah Chitty to carry me to Venaigum's houſe; I told Paupiah that I did not know Venaigum, Cundapah, or Saumy, why ſhould you give me this buſineſs? Vincatachillah Chitty ſaid, You had better come with me, and took me by the hand to Venaigum's houſe; I told Vincatachillah, Why ſhould you compel me to do this buſineſs? If you will oblige me to do this buſineſs, I will report it to any one who will aſk me. Vincatachillah aſked me if I knew Venaigum, I anſwered I did not; Vincatachillah Chitty then ſaid, I will go to Venaigum's houſe, and ſtay in the Street Pyall, and keep a lanthorn light near him, and at the ſame time give him a paper to read, and you muſt conſider the perſon to whom I give the paper as Venaigum. Accordingly I went and ſaw Vincatachillah Chitty give the paper to Venaigum—Vincatachillah left a man with me—he returned ſoon after, and aſked me if I had ſeen Venaigum—I anſwered, I had ſeen him; afterwards Vincatachillah Chitty brought me to Paupiah's houſe—Paupiah ordered Appeyingar to reckon the money and give it to me—I told him it was not proper to give me ſuch buſineſs. Paupiah then ſaid, There is no fear for your life, I will take care of you; if you will do this buſineſs you ſhall have my favour and the governor's: we will put irons to Mr. Haliburton's hands and legs, and ſend him on board ſhip, and we will ſucceed in our plans. I was then inſtructed what to do, and ſent to Cundapah's houſe with the money, and a peon and the money was ſent with me to Cundapah's houſe; I told

Cundapah all that I was inſtructed to tell him, as that I was ſent by Venaigum. Cundapah and Saumy ſeized me as they were inſtructed, and named four people as witneſſes in that ſtreet, and carried me to the governor's gardens at twelve o'clock that night; Paupiah was angry that we came ſo late, and Paupiah carried me, Cundapah, and Saumy, up ſtairs—The governor was undreſt, and lying on his couch; he directly got up, and brought the candle on the table, and ſat near it. Paupiah brought pen, ink, and paper, and ſat it near him, but I do not know what Paupiah and the governor ſaid—Paupiah told me and the other two, Cundapah and Saumy, to draw the declaration, and to ſubſcribe our names; Paupiah alſo told them to draw the declarations in their own language, as he would get them tranſlated, and give it to the governor: if you do not do that you will contradict each other before the council. Afterwards Paupiah returned the money to Cundapah, and ordered the three people into the guard, and gave me a carpet to lie on. We ſtarved all night, and the whole of the next day; the third day (Tueſday) they brought us before council—Governor Hoilond and four or five gentlemen were ſitting—the bramin poured water into my hand, and deſired me to declare the truth of what paſſed; I declared as I had been inſtructed, and the gentlemen wrote it all down. The council alſo called Venaigum, and aſked him if he knew me? he anſwered, he had not ſeen me in his life: they then ordered me to go away, I did ſo accordingly; on my coming out Paupiah ſaid, You are a clever man—you are a Bahader. Paupiah then returned into the council room, and was there a little while till the council broke up, then the governor and Paupiah went into another room, and were ſpeaking together;

together; afterwards Paupiah told me he had the governor's orders for my releaſe, and deſired the guard to let me paſs out of the fort—knowing the matter to be falſe, I did not drink any of the water, but let it paſs through my fingers. After I came out of the fort, Appeyingar came and deſired me to go to his houſe, and kept me there all that day; Paupiah then ſaid, Had not you done the buſineſs, I ſhould have puniſhed you; as however you have done it, you ſhall have forty pagodas, and you may run away with it to the ſouthward. Paupiah alſo ſaid, The nabob and the rajah would not act contrary to my word. Appeyingar then gave me the forty pagodas, by deſire of Paupiah, and told me not to ſtay in this place, for if you do you and we alſo will get into a ſcrape, therefore you ſhould run away; accordingly I received the money, and run away to the ſouthward.—I have delivered all this in writing to Mr. Michell's committee.

Queſtion. What is your real name?

Anſwer. Renoo Row.

Queſtion. What other names did you go by, and who gave them to you?

Anſwer. Ramah Saumy and Paupiah gave me this name of Appajee Row, for the purpoſe of this buſineſs.

Queſtion. Do you know this money?

Anſwer. This is the ſame bundle of money which was given to me, but the handkerchief had not any ſeal at that time.

Queſtion by the Jury. How many witneſſes were preſent when this money was given to Cundapah and Saumy?

Anſwer. One woman and two men were in the houſe, and I took the man into ſtreet; and when Cundapah made a noiſe, ten people were gathered together.

Queſtion. At what hour was it?

Anſwer. About half paſt eleven o'clock, when we were at Cundapah's houſe.

Queſtion. When you mentioned that Paupiah told you there was a difference of opinion between Mr. Hollond and Mr. Haliburton about the word chuttum, which of the two gentlemen did Paupiah mean?

Anſwer. The governor.

Queſtions by PAUPIAH.

Queſtion. Have you been once or oftener at my houſe?

Anſwer. I was firſt at your houſe when I was brought from Triplicane. Afterwards, when I was releaſed from the guard, I was there twice, but lived two days at Appeyingar's houſe.

Queſtion. What is the name of the peon which came from me to you?

Anſwer. I did not aſk it.

Queſtion. Was the declaration to Mr. Michell's committee delivered by word of mouth, or in writing?

Anſwer. I firſt appeared before the committee, and being ordered to give my declaration in writing, I went to Triplicane, and drew it out, and gave it to the committee.

Queſtion. Who drew the declaration?

Anſwer. I did it.

Queſtion. Where?

Anſwer. At the houſe where I lived.

Queſtion. Did you not conſult and draw this paper at Ram Row's houſe?

Anſwer. At the time from my leaving the committee to my bringing the paper, I had a peon with me. I drew the paper in my own entry, and the peon was near me.

Queſtion.

Queſtion. In the declaration you gave to the committee, did you ſay my peon called you?

Anſwer. No.

Queſtion. Did you not conſult with any perſon or perſons before you drew the paper?

Anſwer. No.

Queſtion. Did you never converſe with Ram Row on the queſtion?

Anſwer. No.

Queſtions by VINCATACHILLAH CHITTY's *Counſel.*

Queſtion. How long ſince you firſt knew Paupiah?

Anſwer. The ſame day I firſt was ſent for by Vincatachillah Chitty's peon and Paupiah's on the nineteenth September, eighty-nine.

Queſtion. When Paupiah ordered you to go to the governor's garden-houſe, and went himſelf into his own houſe, who was then with Paupiah?

Anſwer. Paupiah, Appeyingar, Vincatachillah Chitty, and myſelf.

Queſtion. You ſay that Paupiah ordered a peon to conduct you to the governor's garden, did the peon go with you or not?

Anſwer. No, they only frightened me — the peon did not carry me.

Queſtion. What time of the day did Vincatachillah carry you to Venaigum's houſe, and on what day?

Anſwer. On the nineteenth of September, after gun-fire at night.

Queſtion. After the council broke up, you ſay the governor and Paupiah went into another room — did they ſhut the door?

Anſwer. They did not ſhut the door; they were not in any room, they were in the Weſt Veranda.

Queſtions by VINCATACHILLAH CHITTY.

Queſtion. Did any body ſee when my peon called you?

Anſwer. I came to Madras, and ſaw ſeveral people on the road, but I did not mention it to any one.

Queſtion. Did you ever tell any one this buſineſs before I was confined in the main guard?

Anſwer. I did not.

Queſtion. Who accompanied you to the beetle farmer's houſe?

Anſwer. Appeyingar and Cundapah.

Queſtion. How long did you remain there?

Anſwer. About an hour.

Queſtion. Where did you go thence?

Anſwer. To Paupiah's.

Queſtion. Who accompanied you?

Anſwer. Appeyingar and Cundapah.

SUNKO CHINNA KISTNAMAH CHITTY ſworn.

Relate what you know reſpecting the charges againſt the priſoners at the bar.

Witneſs. When I began to put the huts as far as ten miles, according to my cowle, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, Mr. Hollond was governor; the inhabitants made trouble, and plundered the huts at different places—I made a petition to the governor and council—at that time they kept the governor's name for petitions to the revenue board as the council—after there was an order to Richard Dighton, to order according to the cowle for ten miles, and to have tom-tom, that the village people might not interfere. The village

lage people however again made trouble. I complained to Mr. Dighton; then he wrote to the board, and obtained one or two guard of ſepoys to go with my people, and take thoſe that trouble him; they however beat my people and the ſepoys; when I carried them all to Mr. Dighton to explain the buſineſs. The board then ordered a jemidar's guard, I think forty or fifty ſepoys, who were to go with my people, and ſhew where they plundered. I then ſent them to the places where the trouble had been made, and they brought about ſix or ten people to the town major, who put them in the main guard; thoſe other people came to ſpeak in their behalf, and ſaid, if I would releaſe thoſe, they would give muchulka, and I ſhould have no more trouble; I told them firſt to write to ſtop the trouble, and then give muchulka, after which I would intercede in their behalf. They then wrote ſome cadjan letters, and ſent to the country with my people; the ſecond or third day I got intelligence that there had been no more trouble in the choukies. I then tried with the town major's dubaſh to releaſe them; he told me it could not be done without the order of government. All the time of Mr. Holland's government it was the cuſtom in all buſineſs with the governor and council, with the governor himſelf, or the board of revenue, to ſpeak firſt to the dubaſh. After I told to Paupiah, the dubaſh, there was no trouble in my choukies, and therefore I wiſhed to releaſe the men in the main guard, Paupiah told me he cannot releaſe, there muſt be ſome foundation in this buſineſs; theſe poor creatures cannot do this; they muſt declare who did it; unleſs ſomebody protect they won't do; they ſhould declare that. Several times in the fort, and at his own houſe, and when

when he came to my houſe, when I ſpoke to him about it, he always told the ſame thing; as all I told thoſe people, I have been trying for ſome time to releaſe you, but cannot ſucceed; you may try any way you pleaſe, there is no complaint againſt you by me. Afterwards Paupiah told me, thoſe people can never be releaſed, unleſs you come and give evidence who did this buſineſs. I ſaid in anſwer, Why do you do this to me? I never gave you any trouble, do not bring ſcrape upon me. Paupiah then ſaid, You know the man who was underhand in this buſineſs. I anſwered, I do not know any thing—what may be your opinion you may underſtand. He laughed, and then anſwered me, Do you not know Mr. Haliburton did all this buſineſs? I do not know, do not bring my name out; I do not know any thing, I underſtand the inhabitants are doing all this buſineſs. Paupiah ſaid, Unleſs you declare that name, thoſe people will never be releaſed. After this I kept at a diſtance from him; if I ſaw him in the fort or elſewhere, I always went a different way from him; if I met him in one road, I always went another; he ſent frequently to my houſe, if he ſent two or three times, I muſt always go once, I cannot help it, I muſt go; if I go there he always plague to tell this to the governor, becauſe he told the governor I ſaid ſo; and if I was not to tell, then his word would not ſtand before his maſter. I told him, If I loſe my employ, ſuppoſe I loſe any thing, I cannot tell ſo, I cannot tell lie. One day he ſent early for me to his houſe, or ſpoke in the fort, I cannot tell which, and told me, that they were going to examine the witneſſes in the conſultation, and I muſt come and witneſs. I aſked him, Had the board ordered me to come, or is it your order?—becauſe I conſidered if

it

it was the board's order, I am obliged to attend; if not the board's order, I can go to another place and pass the day. He told me it was not the board's order. The next, day which was conſultation day, I went to the fort, and was in the paſſage under the fort houſe, and had two people to watch and tell me when Paupiah came that way. My people did not give me any notice of Paupiah's coming; I however heard that the men had been examined in council, and afterwards releaſed. I then went home. A few days afterwards Paupiah ſent for me, and ſaid, There is to be a conſultation to-morrow, they are going to ſend for you. I told him, If they ſend for me, I cannot declare any thing according to your will or opinion; afterwards I went to my houſe. The next day there was a conſultation, and the governor's hircarrah came to call me; I was a little ill, I ſaid I was ſick, I cannot come: the ſame day, after conſultation was over, I went to Paupiah's houſe; I told Paupiah, Why do you ſend for me before the board; I never can tell any thing againſt Mr. Haliburton which I do not know; Afterwards he preſſed me, and ſaid, Suppoſe you will not tell before the board, you may come and tell before my maſter. When he plagued me ſo I determined in my own mind, it was better to go and tell his maſter how Paupiah plagued me, ſo I told him I would go to his maſter: he ſaid, Very well, you may come in the evening; I ſaid, Very well, I will follow you in the evening, but will ſtay here till that time. I ſent to my conicoply's houſe, which was near, and had ſomething to eat and drink, not victuals, only fruit and water. Paupiah ſet out about ſeven or half paſt ſeven, he always goes in the left hand ſtreet. I could not go that ſtreet, but muſt go my own ſtreet; I left

Paupiah

Paupiah in that ſtreet, and went in another ſtreet; and as I muſt go a little diſtance on that account, and was deſirous to get to the governor's garden before Paupiah came, I ordered my bearers to go as faſt as they could. After I came to the bridge, I came up with Paupiah's palanqueen, and went along with him to the governor's garden; below ſtairs Mr. Edward John Holland was in a room, and Paupiah ordered the peons to keep at a diſtance, and carried me in. Paupiah then told me to tell Mr. Edward John Holland. I ſaid I had nothing to tell: Paupiah plagues me whenever he ſees me, to tell you about this matter, but I know nothing of it: ſo Sir, I am come to tell you ſo. Paupiah then laughed before his maſter, and ſaid, Well, you told me, why will you not tell before my maſter? and then went out, then only Mr. Edward John Holland and I remained in the room. I then ſaid, Paupiah always plagues me to tell Mr. Halliburton's name; how can I ſay any thing, Sir, againſt the gentleman, without knowing any thing? ſo I explained my ſorrow to him; then I ſtaid two or three minutes, and gave my reſpects to take leave, and came away. Paupiah then followed me, and deſired I would ſtay a little, while he ſpoke to his maſter. I thought he would again ſay ſomething to me, ſo I told my man to watch what was going on, and came away, and went the Chowtadry Pettah road to avoid his hircarrahs: after I got home I ordered that I ſhould be denied to every body except my own man whom I left at the governor's garden, who informed me, that after Paupiah came out from his maſter, he aſked where I was, and told I was gone. The ſame night one of the governor's peons left word at my houſe, to call at Paupiah's the next morning. I went there, and

Paupiah told me, he was very angry at what I ſaid to his maſter. I in anſwer repeated the ſame ſtory, that I would not ſay any thing againſt the gentleman. The night before the next conſultation I was at my houſe, when Appeyingar came and told me that Vincatachillah was gone to ſhew Venaigum's houſe, and that Venaigum had given five hundred pagodas to Appajee Row, which he was going to carry to the governor's garden, when Cundapah and ſome others were put in the guard. Next day morning I went to Paupiah, who ſaid, There is a conſultation to be this day, you muſt appear there; I thence went to my houſe, and before I could get to the fort many hircarrahs and chubdars came to ſay they were waiting for me. Soon after I arrived they ſent for me up ſtairs: whatever queſtions they aſked me, I gave anſwer. Paupiah was very angry for the evidence I gave; he ſhewed his anger by the lips, by the eyes, and by the hands. Two or three days afterwards he told me, that as I had not given my evidence according to his wiſh, and that he had ſpent five hundred pagodas, I muſt give it to him. I told him, You did this to pleaſe yourſelf, I never offered you to do it; I ſhall not give the money, I don't care.

Queſtion by the court. Did you empower Paupiah to ſpend five hundred pagodas on your account?

Anſwer. I never did.

Queſtion. What happened afterwards?

Anſwer. I went one day to Mr. Haliburton's garden, between the time I was ſummoned to the conſultation and the day I appeared there, and told him there was ſome contrivance to take away your place; you muſt take care, but do not aſk me any queſtions, I cannot tell any thing.

Queſtion.

Queſtion. Did you not tell Mr. Haliburton that the four priſoners at the bar were concerned in this plot againſt him?

Anſwer. I do not recollect that I told their names.

Queſtion. Were Pauplah, Appeyingar, Ramah, Sammy, and Vincatachillah Chitty at your houſe about this time, or any previous time?

Anſwer. Thoſe four were never at one time at my houſe, but they came ſeparately, at ſeveral times, after my choukies were pulled down.

Queſtion. Did they ever ſpeak to you about Mr. Haliburton's buſineſs.

Anſwer. Pauplah and Appeyingar ſpoke, but Vincatachillah and Ramah Sammy never ſpoke.

Queſtion. Did you ever ſee this handkerchief with the money before?

Anſwer. No, I did not.

Queſtion. Did Pauplah or Appeyingar about this time get five or ſix hundred pagodas from your houſe?

Anſwer. I never gave or delivered five or ſix hundred pagodas to either of them.

Queſtions by PAUPLAH.

Queſtion. Did I not lend you one thouſand pagodas when a warrant was out againſt you?

Anſwer. I borrowed one thouſand pagodas from you, which Vencatarariah my agent brought, and by the ſame man I repaid you.

Queſtion. Have you got back your bond.

Anſwer. No.

Queſtion by the court. Did the five hundred pagodas, which you told Pauplah had ſpent to pleaſe himſelf, make part of the one thouſand pagodas you borrowed of him, or relate thereto?

Anſwer. No.

ANNA

ANNA SAUMY ſworn.

Queſtion. Did you tranſlate this petition D?

Anſwer. It is a true tranſlation from the original in the Malabar language.

Queſtion. Who delivered it to you?

Anſwer. Mr. White delivered it to me in the council.

Queſtion. Is the original now in your poſſeſſion, or to whom did you deliver it?

Anſwer. I gave both original and tranſlation to Paupiah, and I never ſaw the original ſince.

Queſtion. During Mr. Hollond's adminiſtration, from whom did you generally receive your orders on matters relative to your duty as compary's tranſlator?

Anſwer. I uſed to receive them ſometimes from Mr. Hollond, ſometimes from Mr. Edward John Hollond, and ſometimes from Paupiah.

Queſtion. Under how many governors have you ſerved?

Anſwer. Since Mr. Michell's time, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven.

Queſtion. Did it appear to you that Paupiah had more influence over the natives, or took on himſelf more authority, than any former private dubaſh of a governor?

Anſwer. Paupiah was more intimate with Mr. Hollond and Mr. Edward John Hollond; and I think he had more influence, and took on himſelf more authority, than any other dubaſh of a governor.

Queſtion. Did that intimacy tend to give him more influence over the natives than any former dubaſh of a governor?

Anſwer. Yes.

Queſtions

Queſtions by PAUPIAH.

Queſtion. Who interpreted in the conſultation-room when this buſineſs was diſcuſſed?

Anſwer. Shunmagoroy, interpreter to the juſtices.

Queſtion. Were you in the council room all the time?

Anſwer. I was.

Queſtion. Was the door open or ſhut?

Anſwer. I did not obſerve.

Queſtion. Were there many perſons in the council room at this time?

Anſwer. None but the parties concerned.

Queſtion. How many.

Anſwer. At one time three or four; at another, when the country people were there, about ten, twelve, or fifteen.

Queſtion. When you went into the council room, did they aſk you whether you was ſworn interpreter, or not?

Anſwer. I do not recollect.

Queſtion. Why did they ſend for the ſworn interpreter?

Anſwer. I cannot conceive why.

Queſtion. When Shunmagaroy miſinterpreted, did not Mr. Caſamaijor correct him more than once?

Anſwer. I do not recollect.

Shunmagoroy the ſworn interpreter being overcome with fatigue, Anna Saumy, the government tranſlator, is ſworn to interpret the reſt of the trial.

COMERA SAUMY ſworn.

Witneſs. In one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, when the beetle-huts were burnt, I was brought

brought from my village at Pully, or Red Hills, and put in the main guard by ſepoys at the town major's orders. Some people or other come to me in the main guard, and ſaid, You had better relieve yourſelf, by coming to tell againſt Mr. Haliburton. I was in the main guard for forty days. One day Paupiah ſent for me to a room, to the ſecond of council's houſe, and told me, he wanted my aſſiſtance in a matter which he wiſhed to do. I aſked, What aſſiſtance? Paupiah ſaid, If you ſay Mr. Haliburton encouraged you to pull down the huts, you will be relieved, and reſtored to your villages; if you will not, you muſt remain four or ſix months in priſon. I told him, It is not in my power, you may do as you pleaſe, either detain me or confine me, I am not fit for that buſineſs. I was again carried to the main guard. Some people paſſing by ſaid, If you do not complain againſt Mr. Haliburton, you will not be releaſed. One day, when Paupiah was going home, I aſked him to releaſe me, which he refuſed. Afterwards, I ſtaid in the main guard ten days, when we were all releaſed by council. As I was releaſed, I went home to my village.

Queſtion. Do you know what brought about your releaſe?

Anſwer. The firſt day I was carried to council the governor aſked me, why I burnt the huts? I ſaid, I did not burn any huts, other people burnt them. The governor then ſaid, As you are an inhabitant of that place, you ſhall be anſwerable for the conſequence. One day, Appeyingar met me outſide the gate, and told me, I had better get out of the buſineſs, by accuſing Mr. Haliburton, then the waroo chuttum will be altered.

Queſtion by the Jury. You ſay, that after your refuſal to comply with Paupiah's requeſt, you were

ordered back to priſon. Was it by Paupiah, or whom elſe?

Anſwer. Paupiah.

Queſtions by PAUPIAH.

Queſtion. How many people were in the main guard?

Anſwer. About ten or twelve, taliars, beggars, and others.

Queſtion. During the time you were a priſoner, where did you go to dine?

Anſwer. At a bramin's houſe in the Black Town.

Queſtion. Had all the priſoners permiſſion to go to the Black Town to dine, or did they dine in the Fort?

Anſwer. Some dined in the Fort, others in the Black Town.

Queſtion. Who dined in the Fort, and who in the Black Town? Tell their names.

Anſwer. Only a taliar and a boy dined in the Fort; all others, and myſelf, dined in the Black Town.

INAVERAM SAUMY ſworn.

Relate what you know reſpecting the charges againſt the priſoners at the bar.

Witneſs. There was a diſpute between my couſins in the village of Inaveram. The renter of that diſtrict unjuſtly pulled down ten or eleven houſes belonging to his party. On that account I came to Madras, to make my complaint to Paupiah. While I was with Paupiah, the matter about the huts happened. Appeyingar and other inhabitants came here in order to have the waroo chuttum, or diviſion of grain, altered. Paupiah told me that Cundapah was going to ſay ſomething, and you will declare according to his inſtructions. I told

old him I could not do it. When I ſaid I could not do it, Appeyingar, Ramah Saumy, Vincatachillah Chitty, Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty, were preſent. Paupiah was very angry with me. My people adviſed me acting as Paupiah wiſhed, and then the buſineſs on which you came will be finiſhed, if you will only act as Cundapah. I was ſilent thereon. In the mean time Mr. Haliburton paſſed that way. Cundapah followed me, and I was deſired to go with him. I went a little way. Cundapah went as far as the Belfry Place, and returned. I alſo came down. Cundapah told me, he heard from Mr. Haliburton, that the eſtabliſhment of the huts was by the order of the governor, not by the order of the committee; therefore, if a petition can be addreſſed to the committee, and ſtand firm to it, he will protect as much as he can. After that Cundapah went to council, and gave in his declaration, and having been mentioned there by Cundapah, I gave in my declaration. The declaration which I made was taught by Cundapah. Two or three days afterwards I was aſked by Paupiah if I could get one man? I anſwered, I could not. Two or three days Appajee Row came to my houſe with the money produced here, which money I ſaw once in the governor's garden, and once in the council room. Appajee Row brought the money, and ſaid Venaigum and Mr. Haliburton gave it to him, and told them to go out of the place, without taking any notice of the former declaration you made againſt him, and that in ſuch caſe I promiſed to give more. Cundapah and I took Appajee Row, and the money, to the governor's gardens. Paupiah aſked why we came ſo late? and went up ſtairs. The governor was there. I, Cundapah, and Appajee Row, went up

ſtairs. We were deſired to give our declaration of what paſſed. We wrote, and gave them, and then came down, and were then ordered to ſtay with the guard. I told to Paupiah, We have not eat all this day, why do you make us priſoners? He anſwered, You ſhall ſtay in the guard to-night, and to-morrow you ſhall be releaſed. I was ſent under guard on Sunday night, and Tueſday morning was called to the council, and then releaſed. This paſſed about four years ago—I cannot recollect better what is paſſed.

Queſtion. Had you any thing to do with the other priſoners at the bar?

Anſwer. When I was deſired to do this all the priſoners were preſent.

Queſtion. Can you tell the priſoners by name?

Anſwer. Yes, Ramah Saumy, Appeyingar, and Vincatachillah Chitty.

Queſtions by the Council for SUNKARAPORAM VENCATACHILLAH CHITTY.

Queſtion. How long have you been at Madras?

Anſwer. I generally live in the country, but when there is occaſion I come to Madras.

Queſtion. How long ſince you came to Paupiah on your own buſineſs?

Anſwer. About four years ago, it was in Mr. Hollond's government.

Queſtion. How long after your arrival before you ſaw Paupiah?

Anſwer. Two or three days.

Queſtion. How long after you ſaw Paupiah before you gave your declaration to council?

Anſwer. About two or three months.

Queſtion. When you went up ſtairs to Mr. Hollond,

Hollond, at the garden houſe, what was he there doing?

Anſwer. Mr. Hollond was on his couch in an undreſs.

Queſtion. You ſay you delivered a declaration to Mr. Hollond at his garden houſe, where was it written?

Anſwer. The governor was at his table; I was ordered to ſit down, which I did, and wrote it there.

Queſtion. Was the declaration ſhort, or of conſiderable length.

Anſwer. It was not very long.

Queſtion. How long were you in writing it?

Anſwer. About an hour.

The proſecution here cloſed, and the priſoners enter upon their defence.

Council for Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty ſpoke as to the doctrine of conſpiracies, and the credibility of the witneſſes.

PAUPIAH *produces* MALOO.

Queſtion. Do you know Cundapah, Saumy, and Appajee Row?

Anſwer. I do not know them; I ſaw them but once in the road to the governor's garden, near the bridge, at night, I never ſaw them at the governor's garden, nor near it, nor at Paupiah's houſe. One night at twelve o'clock, when Paupiah returned home, he and three or four others came with Paupiah, when they came near the bridge four or five others made a loud noiſe, and when they ſaw Paupiah come in the palanquin, they came near the palanquin; as ſoon as they came near the palanquin Paupiah aſked, Who are you? why do you make ſuch a noiſe, ſo late at night? One ſide is Colapaukum Cundapah, another ſide Ayneveram Saumy, another ſide Apajee Row, gumaſtah to

Venaigum, belonging to Mr. Haliburton. Appajee was ſent with five hundred pagodas by Venaigum, either to accuſe Paupiah for having encouraged burning the huts, or to go away from the place. Paupiah on hearing this turned the palanquin, and took the people with him to the governor's garden, where he left them below, and went up ſtairs. I do not know what Paupiah ſpoke to his maſter, but I ſaw Mr. Hollond and Paupiah come down ſtairs, Paupiah called them in the name of his maſter; as ſoon as they were introduced, his maſter aſked who they were; one ſide is Colapaukum Cundapah, other ſide Ayneveram Saumy, and both declared that Appajee Row, gomaſtah of Venaigum, is come with five hundred pagodas from Mr. Haliburton to offer them as a bribe, either to accuſe Paupiah of having encouraged the burning of the huts, or not to appear before the gentlemen—Mr. Hollond aſked where was the money; Appajee Row produced it. Mr. Hollond then aſked, Whoſe man are you, and is it true what you declare? Appajee ſaid, it was all true. The governor deſired them to put their declaration in writing, and after they wrote he has taken their declaration, he ordered that the three with their money be put under confinment. After that Paupiah and he and others came home.—I heard they afterwards were examined in the council, and releaſed.

Queſtion by the Jury. Did Mr. Hollond come down ſtairs after Paupiah had related what paſſed on the road; and where did he take the declarations?

Anſwer. They came down ſtairs, and took the declarations below.

RAM CHUNDER ſworn.

Queſtion. What is your employ?

Anſwer. Shroff and caſh-keeper to Paupiah.

Queſtion. Did you ever pay any money on my account, or on Ramah Saumy's, or any other perſon, to Appajee Row?

Anſwer. I never paid any money to Appajee Row on account of Paupiah, or Ramah Saumy, or any one elſe.

Queſtion. Did you ever ſee Cundapah, Appajee Row, or Saumy at my houſe?

Anſwer. I never ſaw them at Paupiah's houſe or elſewhere.

BAVANNY SHUNKER ROW ſworn.

Queſtion. Do you know the priſoner Appeyingar, and how long?

Anſwer. I have known him for a length of time?

Queſtion. In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine, on the fifth of September, where was Appeyingar?

Anſwer. He was with Mr. Sharden, who had been employed to inveſtigate the jaghire's accounts.

Queſtion. Was he at Madras all the month of September eighty-nine, or what part thereof?

Anſwer. He was not there after the fifth of September.

SUNKA SESHACHILLAH CHITTY ſworn.

Queſtion by Paupiah. In the years one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-eight and eighty-nine were you not a conſtant viſitor at my houſe, and particularly in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine?

Anſwer. From fifteen years paſt I have always gone

gone there, not more in eighty-nine than any other year.

Queſtion. Do you know Colapaukum Cundapah, Ayneveram Saumy, and Appajee Row?

Anſwer. I cannot ſay unleſs I ſee the people. [*Produced, and he diſavows all knowledge of them.*]

Queſtion by Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty. Did you ever ſee me at your houſe, or at Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's houſe, during the time Mr. John Hollond was governor?

Anſwer. Except on occaſion of a family wedding.

Queſtion. Had you a wedding at your houſe during the time Mr. Morgan Williams was acting governor?

Anſwer. Not at mine, but at Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's.

Queſtion. Except the twice I went during Mr. Morgan Williams's time, did I ever go to your or Sunka Chinna Kiſtnamah Chitty's houſe?

Anſwer. No.

Queſtion. Did you ever ſee me at Paupiah's houſe, conſulting with any one about the removal of Mr. Haliburton?

Anſwer. No.

Queſtion. Do you know upon what buſineſs I frequented Paupiah's houſe during the time Mr. Hollond was governor?

Anſwer. Upon conſolidated bonds.

Queſtion. Did you ever ſee me at the governor's garden houſe, or in the council houſe in the fort, during the time Mr. Hollond was governor?

Anſwer. I did not ſtay conſtantly at thoſe places, when I was there I did not ſee him.

Venaigum called.—Three of the priſoners, Avadaunum

daunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, and Appeyingar Bramin, object to Venaigum being examined, as the profecution is clofed, and they underftand he is going to give evidence on the part of the crown.—Court over-rule the objection, and Venaigum fworn.

Queftion. Did not Colapaukum Cundapah, after the arrival of general Medows, give the declaration refpecting Mr. Haliburton of his own free will?

Anfwer. He gave it of his own confent.

Queftion. How many perfons figned it?

Anfwer. Colapaukum Cundapah and four witneffes figned it.

Queftion. When Colapaukum Cundapah figned would he not have fworn to it as to the beft of his belief, and the reafons thereof?

Anfwer. I cannot tell that, I took him before Mr. Dighton, when he acknowledged the contents thereof.

Queftion. Was Appeyingar in Madras in September eighty-nine?

Anfwer. On the eighteenth September eighty-nine an hircarrah came to me in the morning, and told me Mr. Hollond wanted me; I went to the fort fquare, and waited till two o'clock, I did not meet the governor, and an hircarrah came and ordered me to go home; I told the hircarrah I will not go till I fpeak to the governor—he then went again, and the governor ordered me to attend the next conſultation. I faw Appeyingar on the twentieth September at Paupiah's houſe. Mr. Lind's dubaſh and I went there early on that morning, we went up ſtairs; Appeyingar came before us, and ſaid, Stop, there are women there. In ten minutes after he came himſelf, and called me. Paupiah ſat on his counter, Ramah Saumy and I on chairs, and Appeyingar on the floor.

A written

A written paper in the following words is then delivered to the clerk of the peace, who read it to the court and jury:

May it pleaſe this honorable bench, and gentlemen of the jury, we Paupiah, Ramah Saumy, and Appeyingar, priſoners at the bar, ſubmit that as it is in proof that one of us, Appeyingar, was not in Madras at the time ſtated by the evidence of our joint conſpiracy againſt David Haliburton, as ſet forth in the indictment, and for the other cauſes apparent from the evidence—do therefore humbly ſubmit to your judgment and integrity this day's deciſion of our fortunes, and, what is of ſtill greater value in our eſteem, our reputation and good name.

The clerk of the peace then made ſome obſervations to the jury on the law of evidence.

The jury then retire, a bailiff being firſt ſworn to keep them.

After four hours a verdict was proclaimed, and the jury returning into court anſwer to their names.

Clerk of the Peace. Gentlemen of the jury, have you agreed on your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Clerk of the Peace. Who ſhall ſay for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Clerk of the Peace. Look upon the priſoners. How ſay you, are Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, guilty of the conſpiracy whereof they ſtand indicted, or not guilty?

Foreman. Guilty, but recommend the priſoners to the lenity of the court; which being recorded,

Clerk of the Peace. Gentlemen of the jury, hearken

hearken unto your verdict as the court hath recorded it—you ſay that Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin, Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty, and Appeyingar Bramin, are guilty of the conſpiracy whereof they ſtand indicted, but recommend them to the lenity of the court, and ſo you ſay all?

Jury. Yes.

The preſident thereupon, after ſtating to the priſoners the nature of the offence of which they were found guilty, pronounced the judgment of the court, as follows:

It is the judgment of the court that you Avadaunum Paupiah Bramin do pay a fine to the king of two thouſand pounds; that you be impriſoned in the common jail for three years, and until the fine be paid; and further, that you do ſtand in the pillory in the uſual manner for one hour, on Saturday the twenty-firſt inſtant, between the hours of twelve and three o'clock in the afternoon.

That you Sunkaraporam Vincatachillah Chitty do pay a fine to the king of five hundred pounds; that you be impriſoned in the common jail for two years, and until the fine be paid; and further, that you do ſtand in the pillory in the uſual manner for one hour, on Saturday the twenty-firſt inſtant, between the hours of twelve and three o'clock in the afternoon.

That you Avadaunum Ramah Saumy Bramin, and Appeyingar Bramin, do each pay a fine to the king of two hundred pounds; that you be each impriſoned in the common jail for one year, and until your fines be paid; and that each of you do ſtand in the pillory in the uſual manner, for one hour, on Saturday the twenty-firſt inſtant, between the hours of twelve and three o'clock in the afternoon.

But,

But, as the jury have recommended you to the lenity of the court, the court, in conſideration thereof, remit that part of your ſentence which adjudges each of you to ſtand in the pillory.

The priſoners are thereupon remanded to priſon.

A true copy.

S. POPHAM,

D. C. P.

P. S. The

P. S. The following ſhould have been added as a note to the "Petition of the inhabi-" tants of the jaghire," page 85.

N. B. The above Petition is ſtiled from the inhabitants in general of the jaghire, though only ſigned by 50 *perſons.*

IT appears by the conſultations of the board of revenue, under date the 16th March 1789, that the parties who preferred the above petition, evidently the performance of a well-educated European, appeared before the board, and amongſt the reſt Appeyingar (on the part of his uncle, Naut Irenevaſſyengar) who ſaid his family enjoyed formerly 6 in 10 ſhares of the produce of the cultivation in the purgunnah of Conjeveram, but had no ſunnud to produce.

The following extract of the reſolution of the board, after a full inveſtigation of the whole buſineſs, will explain the unanimous reſolution of the board of revenue, then conſiſting of Meſſieurs Saunders, Haliburton, and Moubray, on the merits of the petition.

The board obſerve, "That the people who have "ſigned the above repreſentation individually call "themſelves nautiwars, or head inhabitants, al-"though the petition is drawn out in the name of the "inhabitants in general of the company's jaghire, "and that it is the firſt that has come before them "ſince the eſtabliſhment made by the board, of the "ſtandard of the diviſion of the crops in the jag-"hire, in October 1786. This ſtandard was fix-"ed after much trouble and inveſtigation, with "the beſt advice that could be obtained at the time,

" and was intended to obviate all the intricacies " and difficulties which ſubſiſted by the former " diviſion of the crop, viz. what is called mamoul, " by making that diviſion more equal, and there- " fore more favourable to the lower ſort of inhabi- " tants, for which the board ſtated their reaſons at " large in a ſubſequent minute." Dated the 18th December 1786.

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